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TRAVELS

OF

MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

TRAVELS

OF

MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN

IN

ASIA, AFRICA, AND EUROPE,

DURING THE YEARS

1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, AND 1803.

Written by Himself in the Persian Language.

TRANSLATED BY

CHARLES STEWART, Esq. M.A.S.

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

IN THE HON. EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S COLLEGE, HERTS.

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TRAVELS

OF

MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

CHAP. XXVII.

Polite conduct of Captain Richard to the Author. Account of the voyage to Malta—Description of the island—Characters of the Governor, Admiral, Commander-in-chief, and Commissary-general. The Author lands, and is hospitably entertained by all the public officers—His reflections on this subject—He discovers a great affinity between the Maltese and Arabic languages. Account of the invasion of Malta by the Turks—Climate of that island. The Author re-embarks, on board the L'Heureuse, for Smyrna. The ship puts into the port of Miletus—Short description of that place—Proceed on their voyage—pass by Athens—

arrive at Smyrna. The author well received by the Consul—visits Osman Aga. The ship quits Smyrna—arrives at the Hellespont—Description of the Sea of Marmora—arrives at the Dardanelles.

As soon as I had an opportunity of shewing to Captain Richard the letters of his Majesty's Ministers to the English Consuls and Ambassadors at the different courts, and he was thereby convinced of my attachment to, and connexion with, the British nation, he conducted himself to me with brotherly affection, and anticipated every wish of my heart. This voyage was therefore one of the pleasantest I had ever undertaken.

In a few days we passed by the Island of Corsica, the birth-place of Buonaparte; and, shortly after, by Sardinia, a large island, which has an independent sovereign of its

own. We also passed by Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, but dependent on Naples, the king of which is the monarch of both countries. It is from Sicily that the inhabitants of Malta obtain all their supplies of provisions; the former being one of the most fertile countries in the world, and Malta the most barren. This voyage was not attended with any occurrence worthy of note; and on the 1st of September we cast anchor in the harbour of Malta.

This island is well known in Arabian history, and several of the antient Philosophers were born there. After the expulsion of the Christians from Jerusalem, it was made over by the Pope and the kings of Europe, to a society of military monks, the chief of whom is called the Grand Master. As these monks were, in general, men of family and fortune, who had retired from

the world, they devoted the whole of their wealth to erect churches and fortifications on this island. As immense sums were thus annually expended, it is now become one of the strongest fortresses in the world. Some parts of these works are said to have been constructed a thousand years ago, and yet appear quite fresh; and are so massy, that, in all probability, nothing but an earthquake will overturn or demolish them. To a person not perfectly conversant with the science of fortification, it would be a vain attempt to explain the nature of the works which defend Malta: suffice it to say, that they are considered as the master-piece of theory and practice united. This island fell into the hands of the French by *treachery;* and was taken from them by the English, by means of *starvation,* after having in vain essayed to take it by force. By one of the articles of the late treaty of peace, this island is to be restored to the Grand

Master: it is however at present occupied by a garrison of six thousand British troops.

The public officers, at the time of my visiting Malta, were, First, Sir Alexander Ball, Governor. This gentleman possesses every quality requisite to render him esteemed and beloved; he is, in consequence, adored by all the inhabitants, whether English or Maltese.

Second, General Vandeleur, Commander-in-chief of the Land Forces, an officer highly respected.

Third, Sir R. Bickerton, Admiral of all the ships in the Mediterranean: a command of the greatest trust and importance. With these officers the Governor consulted upon all military affairs.

Fourth, Mr. Macauly, Deputy Governor.

Fifth, Mr. Wilkie, Commissary of Supplies, and Commissioner of the Docks.

These gentlemen acted with the utmost unanimity, on all occasions; and, except at the Cape of Good Hope, I have never witnessed so pleasant a society.

Soon after we had cast anchor in the harbour, Captain Richard went on shore, and reported my arrival to the Governor. His Excellency was pleased to give orders that I might land whenever I chose, and requested the favour of my company at dinner on that day. Captain Richard had the goodness to return on board with this polite message; and advised me to deliver his Majesty's letter, addressed to the British Ambassador at Vienna, to the Governor, who he doubted not would act, in consequence, as if it had been addressed to himself, and probably order the L'Heureuse to proceed with me to Constantinople; by which I should avoid the risk of going in a ship commanded by one of the *owls* of the Levant.

In compliance with the advice of Captain Richard, I carried my letters of recommendation on shore, and fortunately found the Governor and the Admiral together. When I presented the letters, I addressed myself to both, and informed them, that, in consequence of the advice of the English *Chargé d'affaires* at Paris, I had been induced to deviate from the route I originally purposed, and, instead of going by Vienna, was arrived so far on my way to Constantinople; that as the letters I had now the honour to deliver were of a public nature, I hoped they would consider them as addressed to themselves, and afford me such assistance as should be in their power.

These illustrious officers listened to my address with great condescension, and assured me of their willingness to comply with my solicitations, but hoped I would allow

them the pleasure of my society for a short time at Malta. We shortly after sat down to an elegant dinner, and I spent the day with the greatest happiness. Before we broke up, the General asked me to dine with him the next day, the Admiral the day following, Mr. Macauly the third day, Mr. Wilkie the fourth day: and such was the hospitality of these gentlemen, that, during the fortnight I remained at Malta, I was never a single day disengaged.

I had a very good apartment at the Hotel de Soter, where I was visited by all the principal officers: but as the tea and butter were very indifferent at the hotel, the Governor and the General requested me to breakfast alternately with them.

How different was their conduct to that of Mr. Merry, at Paris. To that gentleman

I carried a letter of introduction, dictated by the orders of his Majesty, and backed by the recommendation of Lord Pelham. He received me only with dissimulation and flattering speeches; and although he complied with the Royal orders, in procuring me passports, he sent me by a route which involved me in a labyrinth of difficulties. At Malta I landed as a perfect stranger, and furnished only with a letter of introduction to a person *at Vienna;* notwithstanding which, I was received with hospitality and kindness, and all my wishes complied with.

VERSE OF HAFIZ.

"I am become the slave of the seller of wine; be not therefore angry, O shaikh.

"From you I received nought but promises: he has conferred on me real benefits."

On the second evening after my arrival, the Governor, as the representative of the

Grand Master, gave a ball and supper to the principal inhabitants of the island. There was, of course, an assemblage of all the beauty and fashion of the place; and I thought some of the women very handsome. The supper was elegant, and the music excellent.

I was much surprised to find that the Maltese language contained a great portion of Arabic: the pronunciation is very similar; and the letters *S*, *Z*, and *T*, were exactly the *Saad*, *Swaad*, and *To*, of the Arabs. The remainder of the language is a mixture of Greek, Italian, and French. I however met with several of the well-educated Maltese, who spoke Arabic fluently.

I omitted to mention before, that at Marseilles, Genoa, and Leghorn, the language of the Arabs was understood by a number of the sea-faring people. This cir-

cumstance is no doubt owing to the great power which the Moorish chiefs of the Merwan dynasty possessed in Spain for many centuries; who had colonies, or factories, established on all the shores of the Mediterranean. Many of the buildings, and even whole cities, in this part of the world, bear evident marks of their having been founded by the followers of Mohammed.

Several hundred years ago, one of the Turkish Emperors of Constantinople sent an army to invade Malta. As the fortifications were not then completed, they succeeded in getting possession of half the island, and besieged the remainder for a very long period; but after losing an immense number of their men, they were compelled to retreat. The remembrance of this event is kept up by the Maltese celebrating the anniversary of the Turkish retreat with great rejoicings.

The climate of Malta is very warm, and the houses abound with mosquitoes, fleas, &c. to such a degree, that I seldom slept more than two or three hours in any night. I was also much annoyed by the droves of hogs, which are constantly ranging the streets, and defile every place they can approach. The inhabitants are so partial to these animals, that they rebelled against one of their Grand Masters who ordered the hogs to be confined, and compelled him to rescind his order. Since that period they have had free access to every part of the town, except the square opposite the palace.

At the expiration of a fortnight, his Excellency the Governor, and the Admiral, were pleased to order Captain Richard to convey me, on board the L'Heureuse, as far as Smyrna, which is only five days' journey short of Constantinople ; and furnished me

with letters of introduction to the British Consul at that port, desiring he would facilitate the remainder of my journey.

On the 16th of September, I again embarked with my friend Captain Richard. For three days the weather was delightful; but on the fourth there arose a dreadful storm, which lasted all that day, and the whole of the night. We lost one of our masts, and several of the yards; the sails were all blown to pieces, and our rigging much damaged. These circumstances did not cause Captain Richard much alarm; but, as the Mediterranean Sea comprehends a great number of small islands and hidden rocks, he was fearful lest we should be driven on some of them. We were however fortunate enough to escape these dangers: and the wind having shifted early next morning, we ran a hundred and fifty miles in twenty-

four hours, and on the sixth day anchored in the harbour of Milo, a very celebrated port. We afterwards learned that eleven ships had been lost in this gale; and such was the extent of our damage, that the Captain thought it advisable to put into this port, to refit.

During the storm, we passed the Island of Candia, and several other islands, denominated by Arabian geographers, the Ionian Islands.

In this neighbourhood there are several large towns, all of which are situated on the tops of hills. The Governor and military men are all Turks: but the rest of the inhabitants are Greeks, who, in consequence of the despotic and tyrannical government of their oppressors, are the most abject poor wretches I have ever seen; even the most

oppressed subjects in India are princes, when compared with these. The Turks adhere strictly to the Mohammedan regulations, of exalting the subjects of their own religion, and of depressing those of any other. The spirits of these Greeks are entirely broken, and they appear to have given themselves up to despair. Melancholy and want are so strongly depicted on their countenances, that I could not help feeling for their deplorable condition.

We were detained at Milo by the requisite repairs of the ship, till the 3d of October, on which day we again set sail. Two or three days afterwards, we passed along the shores of Athens, the birth-place of Plato, of Diogenes the Cynic, and of several other celebrated Philosophers. By the aid of our glasses, we could plainly perceive the ruins of some famous temples, the roofs of which

have long since fallen in; but the marble columns are still standing, and glittering in the sun. Athens is not an island, as is generally supposed, but a part of the continent of Greece, and is included in the Turkish government of Natolia. After a pleasant voyage, we cast anchor on the 5th, at Smyrna.

As soon as Captain Richard had given his orders respecting the ship, we went on shore in his barge, and proceeded to the house of Mr. Vesey, the British Consul. That gentleman received us with the utmost politeness, and invited us to stay dinner and to sleep at his house. After dinner, we walked out, and proceeded to the residence of Hajy Osman Aga, the Custom-master of the port, which was situated in the middle of a handsome garden, a little distance out of the town. We were fortunate enough

to find the Aga at home, and just preparing for dinner. He received us in the most courteous manner; and although we had dined, insisted upon our again sitting down with him, and regaled us afterwards with *hookas* of the Cullian kind, and coffee. When we broke up, he made me promise to dine with him on the following day.

Previous to the hour appointed, he sent some of his retinue with a handsome caparisoned horse for my conveyance. I soon mounted, and proceeded to the garden. The Aga again embraced me with much cordiality; and we sat down to a sumptuous entertainment, in the Turkish style. As I had been four years without tasting any good Oriental cookery, I was much gratified by this feast. After dinner, we had ices, sherbet, and the Cullians, and continued to converse till near midnight. As I

had some intention of leaving Smyrna the next day, he kindly gave me a letter of introduction to a friend of his, who was one of the inferior Viziers at Constantinople; but requested, if I should prolong my stay, that I would favour him with my company every day. I returned him many thanks for his obliging invitation, but made an excuse for not accepting it, stating, that I was the Consul's guest, and could not possibly leave him. He acknowledged the propriety of my excuse, and, having ordered his boat to be got ready, directed some of his officers to accompany me home.

The Consul and Captain Richard having deliberated on the best mode of conveying me to Constantinople, and finding that I should be put to much inconvenience if I journeyed by land, determined that I should proceed thither in the L'Heureuse. Although

the Captain had not the Admiral's sanction for this measure, yet as the ship was in want of a top-mast and some yards, which could only be procured at Constantinople, he thought himself justified in proceeding to that port. Preparations were therefore made for continuing the voyage, which delayed us a short time longer.

Smyrna is a large city, pleasantly situated, and inhabited by Greeks and Mohammedans: there are also a number of Christian merchants settled here, and it is a place of resort from all the ports in the Mediterranean. It is well supplied with all kinds of provisions, and a great variety of fruits: melons are in such quantities, that they pile them up in heaps, like mountains: there is also a great abundance of grapes, pomegranates, and a species of quince which I had never before seen.

The third day we dined with Mr. Price, one of the principal merchants; and on the fourth, the Aga called on me, and took me with him to his garden, where he entertained me as on the former occasion. We sat till midnight; and when we were breaking up, he ordered one of his servants to convey on board the ship, for my use, a hundred melons, a load of grapes, fifty cakes of bread, two goats, and a calf. He then accompanied me as far as the outside door, and ordered his deputy to go with me in his boat, to see me safe home.

On the 13th of October we again set sail, and soon after reached the Island of Mitylene, celebrated for being the birth-place of several of the ancient Philosophers. As it was nearly calm when we were opposite the city (Castro), we went on shore to look at it, but were much disappointed. All

the towns in these countries are built on the slope of a hill; and the houses, being white, look very well at a distance, but, when examined, are far from being neat or handsome. The streets of the bazars are covered over with vines, which, although pleasant in the hot season, render them in wet weather very dark and dirty: they are also very badly paved, and filthy. The inhabitants are Greeks, but subject to the Turks.

On the fifth day we were opposite the Isle of Tenedos; and, as the winds are very changeable in the Ionian Sea (Archipelago), we were obliged to cast anchor. We went on shore, and paid our respects to Omar Aga, the Governor, who was very civil, and pressed us to stay dinner: but as our departure depended entirely on a change of wind, we deemed it imprudent to stop, and therefore requested he would excuse us. The

next day the wind favoured us a little, and we got as far as the entrance of the Sea of Marmora (Strait of Gallipoli); which, branching off from the Archipelago, passes by Constantinople, and joins the Black Sea. But, as at this place there is always a rapid current running from the Black Sea into the Ionian Sea, it is impossible to enter this strait without the assistance of a strong westerly wind; and we found here not less than fifty ships, of different nations, waiting for a favourable opportunity, some of which had been delayed for nearly two months.

It is requisite to be known, that the Sea of Marmora separates *Ajem*, the ancient Persian empire, from *Freng;* called by the English, Asia and Europe. This sea is 120 miles long, and of a considerable breadth in the middle; but at the ends it is reduced to two narrow channels, two or three miles

broad, called the Straits of Gallipoli and of Constantinople. All the countries lying to the north-west of this sea are included in Europe, and those to the south-east are comprehended in Asia.

Loharasp, called by the Arabs *Bukht al Naser*, was the first Persian monarch who subdued the countries constituting the Asiatic frontier. This conquest was originally attended with much bloodshed, and was the cause of continual warfare between the Greeks and Persians.

When the Romans had supplanted the Greeks, and extended their dominion over all Europe, they also engaged in endless wars with the Persian kings of the Ashcanian and Sassanian dynasties, for these Asiatic provinces. The events of these early periods are not well described in *our*

histories, as we have no *authentic* records prior to the time of Mohammed: but the Greeks, who have histories which extend back two thousand years, have minutely detailed all the circumstances of these wars.

After the Turks had taken possession of Constantinople, and extended their dominion over several of the European provinces, the Ottoman Emperors assumed the title of *Sultan al Bereen, wa Khacan al Bihereen,* "Emperor of the Two Continents (Europe "and Asia), and Lord of the Two Seas" (the Archipelago and Black Sea); which they still retain*.

Near to the mouth of the Hellespont, on the coast of Natolia, is a place called Troy, once the residence of a celebrated

* This title is still stamped on all Turkish coins.

philosopher and poet, named Homer, whose works are still extant in the ancient Greek language, and are much read and admired in Europe. Along this shore there are a number of hillocks to be seen, which they say are the graves of the kings and heroes who fell in the battles described by that poet.

After waiting here two days, we again got under weigh, and, having a light breeze in our favour, proceeded nearly as far as the Dardanelles; when the wind failing us, and the current being very strong, we were obliged to cast anchor. At this place the strait is very narrow, and strongly defended by two forts, mounted with cannon of an enormous size, which could with ease sink any enemy's ship that might attempt to pass up the strait, even aided by a strong and favourable wind. It is on this account that

the Dardanelles are famous all over Europe, and not from there being any city of that name.

On the strait above Constantinople, which joins the Black Sea, there are also two very strong forts, to guard that passage. The Turks consider these forts, and the difficulty of entering the Straits, as a very great security to Constantinople, and the bulwark of their empire. I am however of a very different opinion; for if ever the Turks are so reduced as to shut themselves up in Constantinople, and trust to its walls for their defence, I am convinced it will not stand a fortnight's siege against a victorious army.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Author arrives at Constantinople — is graciously received by the British Ambassador. Description of Constantinople—Of the climate —Population— Coffee-houses — Inns —Hot Baths— Useful institutions — Dress of the Turks — their indolence — great smokers.— Anecdote of Nadir Shah. Turkish luxury, and its effects. Account of the Post-office— Turkish mode of living—Houses of Constantinople—Frequent fires—Furniture— Mosques —Description of St. Sophia—Bazars—Derveishes.

We were detained fourteen days at the Dardanelles, waiting for a favourable wind: at length, on the 5th of the month Rejeb (2d of November), our wishes were accomplished: and a strong westerly wind

springing up, nearly one hundred vessels, of different sizes and various nations, got under way at the same time. As this was a scene I had never before witnessed, having made all my former voyages in a single ship, I was much delighted at the view of a whole fleet under sail, and the attempts of the ships to get before each other. In a very short period we passed the forts, and had a beautiful view of the country on both sides the strait; and on the third day we anchored opposite the city of Constantinople. I immediately sent intelligence of my arrival to Lord Elgin, the British ambassador, and requested his lordship would procure a proper habitation for me. The next morning I received a message from his lordship, that a house was ready for my reception, and that he should be happy to see me as soon as convenient.

After breakfast I quitted the L'Heureuse with regret; and Captain Richard, resolving to omit no mark of attention or friendship, accompanied me to the shore, and ordered a salute to be fired as soon as I got into the boat. By this means my arrival was made known to all the inhabitants of Constantinople, from the Janissary to the Grand Signior.

The city of Constantinople, like London, consists of three towns. That in which all the Christian ambassadors reside is on the opposite side of the harbour, and is called *Galata*: thither I repaired, and, immediately on landing, paid my respects to Lord and Lady Elgin. As I had been for several years intimately acquainted with his lordship's brother, the Hon. Mr. Bruce, I was received in the most gracious and friendly manner. His lordship is descended of a

very ancient and noble family, possesses an amiable and liberal disposition, and supports the dignity of Ambassador with great lustre. He is also invested with very great powers; all the English Consuls, and subjects of every description settled in Turkey, as far as Bagdad and Bussora, being subject to his authority.

Lady Elgin possesses great elegance of manners, a smiling countenance, and a sweet disposition: her ladyship is also endued with a lively wit, and sound understanding, which she has much improved by study and travel. During the month which I resided in Constantinople, I passed the greater part of my time in their society, in the most delightful manner.

The house which his lordship had procured for me was in the vicinity of his own;

it was remarkably clean, neat, and well furnished. The servants belonging to it were four handsome Greek women, who appeared to take a pleasure in waiting on me, and not a little contributed to my comfort.

The city of Constantinople is composed of three towns, situated on the shores of the Propontis. The principal of these is where the Emperor, the nobles, and all the opulent Mussulmans reside, and is called *Istanbole.* The second town is on the opposite side of the harbour, and is called *Galata:* it is principally inhabited by Christians; and if a Mohammedan settles there, he plants a cypress-tree opposite his door, that his house may be known to belong to one of the *Faithful;* no Christian being allowed to plant the cypress in his grounds. By riding round the head of the harbour, a person may go by land from Galata to

Istanbole; but the road is very bad. The third town is across the strait, on the Asiatic shore, and is called *Scudari:* it can only be approached from Istanbole by water. Constantinople, being situated on an acclivity, appears a regular and magnificent city when viewed from the strait; and while in the boat, I thought it the grandest place I had ever seen; but when a person enters the streets, he feels much disappointed.

The climate of Constantinople is, in general, cold; and in winter there falls much rain and snow. Notwithstanding the principal Turks have fire-places in their rooms, they never light a fire in the day; and although, in the evening, they permit it to be done, they always place a screen before it when they say their prayers, lest they should be suspected of paying adoration to that element: therefore, in order to keep

themselves warm, they are obliged to wear a load of clothes, which incapacitates them from exertion, and, in the summer months, serves as a hot-bed for the production of all kinds of vermin, and, I have no doubt, perpetuates the plague. This bad habit prevails all through the Turkish dominions, even in the hot countries, as at Aleppo, Caïro, and Bagdad.

It is impossible to ascertain the number of inhabitants, or the extent of Constantinople; for the gardens, hamlets, &c. are continued on both sides of the strait, as far the Black Sea; and if the length of the city was to be calculated in this manner, it would not be less than thirty miles. It is a common saying of the Turks, that their capital is three days' journey in circumference.

A Turk of the smallest consequence

never thinks of walking; and to save this trouble, there are 100,000 small boats plying about Constantinople. These are all open, but handsomely painted, carved, and gilded, with soft cushions to sit on: they are rowed by one, two, or three men, and are procurable at all hours. On the quays, and in that part of the town which is not accessible to boats, there are a number of horses standing ready saddled for hire; so that a person may travel all over the city without walking twenty yards. The streets are narrow, badly paved, and, in winter, up to the horses' knees in mud: the concourse of people is, notwithstanding, so very great, that a stranger has much difficulty in getting along.

The coffee-houses and barbers' shops in this city are innumerable. The Turks, though very indolent, are not fond of retire-

ment or solitude: they therefore, immediately after breakfast, go to one of these places, where they sit, smoking, drinking coffee or sherbet, and listening to idle stories, the whole day. Their conversations are carried on in a loud tone of voice, and sometimes eight or ten persons talk at the same time; it is therefore impossible for a foreigner to understand what they are saying; and, in short, the societies in these coffee-houses are little better than an assembly of brutes. The rooms are also exceedingly dirty, and seldom afford any thing but thick coffee, and tobacco cheroots or pipes.

The inns of Constantinople are horrid places; and the only good accommodation for a traveller in this city is at the French and English hotels in Galata.

The hot baths are also innumerable, but

very filthy, and common to both sexes. The men use them from day-light till ten o'clock, and the women from that time till after noon.

The only praise-worthy institutions I could observe in Constantinople, were, first, the boats; secondly, the horses kept for hire; and thirdly, the public fountains; for in every street there is a reservoir of water, with a cock fixed in it, to which is attached a small copper vessel, fastened by a chain; so that, whenever a person is thirsty, he may help himself to a draught of cool water,—a luxury very desirable, after struggling through a crowd, in the narrow streets, on a hot day.

To the above may be added, the custom of having a separate bazar for every kind of

merchandise; by which means a person is certain of procuring the article he wishes for, without much difficulty, if it is to be had. The staple commodities of Constantinople appeared to be, sable, ermine, and other skins, which are all remarkably fine of their kind, and sold at a reasonable price.

The Turkish dress is more expensive than that of any other people in the world, and is composed of the choicest manufactures of various nations. They use a great quantity of European broad-cloths and satins. From India they are supplied with muslins, and from Persia with shawls and embroidered silks. The trowsers of the higher classes are made of fine broad-cloth, but so wide, that the skirts of half-a-dozen coats are with ease inclosed in them, and a person unaccustomed to wear them cannot move in them. Their caps, which they

call *cavuk*, are also made of broad-cloth, and do not weigh less than twelve or fourteen pounds. They wear four or five coats, made after the Arab fashion, over each other: the upper one of broad-cloth, lined with fur; and over all they throw an immense long cloak: in short, their dress would be a heavy load for an ass: on this account they avoid moving as much as possible, and consequently are deprived of taking exercise, or enjoying themselves in the fresh air, both of which would contribute greatly to their health and happiness.

During my travels in Turkey, I spent several days at the houses of the Pashas; and I invariably observed, that, at an early hour of the morning, they entered the hall of audience by a small door which communicated with the *haram* (women's apartment), and that they remained there till

midnight, after which they retired into the haram by the same door. During the whole day, they never even looked into the garden, much less thought of going out to walk or refresh themselves.

From the time they rise in the morning, till they go to bed at night, the pipe is never out of their hands; and the common people are such slaves to this habit, that even while walking, or on horseback, they continue smoking. They always carry a steel and tinder-box about them, and even while riding at a brisk pace will strike fire and light their pipes. If by any accident they are obliged to desist from smoking, they put the pipe into a leather case, which is suspended, like a quiver, to their saddles. It was in consequence of this habit that Nadir Shah (the Persian usurper), when encouraging the Persians to attack the Turks, said, "You need not have any fear

"or anxiety respecting this nation: for "God has given them but two hands; one "of which is absolutely requisite to keep "on their caps, and the other to hold up "their trowsers; and if they had a third, "it would be employed to hold their pipes: "they have therefore none to spare for a "sword or shield."

The cavuk, or high-crowned cap, is only worn by the higher classes; but as the rank of a person in Turkey is known by his cap, there is a great variety of them, none of which weigh less than the cavuk, and some much more. The Syeds, or descendants of the Prophet, wear a green turban folded round the cap, and all other Mohammedans wear white; but no Christian is permitted to wear either of these colours.

The Turks are a very luxurious people: they assume a great deal of state in their

dress and equipage, and retain a number of servants and women. They are also very extravagant in their entertainments. These habits are not confined to the great officers, but extend to the lowest clerk in office, and pervert the revenues of the State to improper uses: these, however, do not suffice to support their extravagance; they have therefore thrown open the doors of bribery and corruption; and these practices are now so common, that they are not considered as disgraceful or criminal; and, in fact, no business can be accomplished in this country without a bribe. Even the Government departments are ruined by this nefarious system. The army is without discipline, the ordnance unfit for use, the regulations of the post-office totally neglected, and the clerks in the offices without employment. The persons at the head of all these departments are only anxious to

procure money, and to deceive the Government.

As the nature of the post-office differs considerably in Turkey from any other country, I shall endeavour to explain what it was, and what it now is. The regulation on this subject directs, that at the end of every nine *fersukh* (thirty-six miles) there shall be a *Bam Khana* (post-house) erected, with convenient stables; that at each of these houses there shall be stationed a landlord, a cook, a hostler, and a farrier; that there shall be an allowance of 30,000 *kurush** paid monthly by Government for the support of each of these houses; and that all persons proceeding on the business of Government shall be accommodated therein. It shall be the business of the landlord to keep beds prepared, and the

* A *kurush* is 1*s*. 10½*d*. English.

house in good order; the cook to provide provisions (coffee is only mentioned); and the hostler to have always in readiness, one, two, or more good horses; all of which were to be provided out of the Government allowance. Formerly, all the principal officers in the army made use of these houses. They probably rode the first stage from Constantinople on their own horses; after breakfast they mounted one of the post-horses, and rode to the next stage, where they dined; after which they rode a third stage, and stopped for the night. No delay was ever admitted; and it was quite optional with the officer, whether he should make the contractors a small present, or not; and if he experienced any difficulty, or want of attention, it was his duty to report the circumstance to the postmaster-general. In this manner all the despatches of Government were conveyed throughout the empire.

At present, the post-house is the resort of all the poor wretches of the village who cannot afford to burn a fire at home. As they are allowed to sit there all day, and even sometimes to pass the night, the furniture of the house swarms with fleas and lice; and the appearance of the beds repels every idea of sleep. When the traveller demands a fresh horse, they amuse him for an hour with some idle excuse; after which they produce a horse without a shoe on his feet, and of course he must be sent to the farrier to be shod; but as this will occupy a couple of hours, the traveller is induced to order some food to be dressed, which when produced, is abominable. A horse is at length reported to be ready: when inspected, he is found to be blind, lame, and galled. If the traveller is irritated at this treatment, they say they cannot help it, so many persons have lately passed that way,—

that their horses are lamed or dead, and that for many months they have not received the Government allowance. The traveller being about to depart, they make an exorbitant demand on him for his entertainment; and if he does not comply with it, they abuse him grossly, and sometimes even beat him.

The ruin of these post-houses is owing to two circumstances: first, the irregular payment of their allowance; and secondly, the institution was only intended for the use of the Sultan's *actual* messengers, or officers sent to join the army; but in the process of time, every person who could bribe the postmaster-general received an order for his horses, and thus defeated the intention. The *actual* royal messengers now put up where they please, and oblige the head man of the village to supply all their wants gratis.

The Turks eat three times in the day: their breakfast consists of bread and sweetmeats, or fruit; at noon they take a slight repast of bread, *kibobs*, and vegetables, all of which are to be had of a superior quality at the cooks' shops: but their principal repast, and the only one to which they invite company, is after evening prayer.

The Turkish mode of cookery is a bad imitation of that of Persia and Hindoostan: it consists of pulaws, curries, kibobs, forcemeats, stews, and a number of sweetmeats, &c. Their mode of serving up dinner differs, however, very much from the practice of either of the above countries, and in the latter would be considered very derogatory to the greater number of the guests.

In Turkey, if a party consists of eighteen persons, there are three cloths laid in dif-

ferent parts of the room, on each of which are placed six cakes of bread. The master of the house, with the five superior guests, take their places at the upper table; the six next in rank take the second table; and the others the inferior one. A large tray is then brought in, containing a single dish, which is placed on the upper table: the master of the house and his guests immediately take two or three mouthfuls with their hands; the dish is then changed, and carried to the second table; when the party having helped themselves in the same manner, it is carried to the bottom table, and thence in a few minutes taken out. In this mode, a succession of thirty dishes are frequently produced; but before a person can tell whether he likes any particular dish, it is taken off, and perhaps replaced by a much inferior one. For soups, custards, rice, milk, &c. they make use of wooden

spoons, which being very shallow, and quite round, scarcely hold any thing, and only serve to dirty the table-cloth, and spoil a person's clothes.

The Turkish mode of living is, upon the whole, very disgusting; and I never could make a comfortable meal with them. In the first place, the single dish being placed upon a wide tray, round which six people are sitting, it requires the arm to be stretched out at full length: then the servants are so inattentive to the guests, or so rapid in their motions, that they frequently snatch away the dish when a person is in the act of helping himself; and, as all the dishes are brought from the kitchen at the same time, and laid down in an adjoining apartment till wanted, those which are produced last are frequently cold. The Turks, on account of their taking no exercise, and constantly indulging

themselves in smoking and drinking coffee, have seldom any appetite for their dinner, and appear always anxious to get it over, that they may return to the pleasures of the pipe again. Owing to all these causes, I have frequently risen very hungry from table. The only article in which the markets of Constantinople excel those of other cities, is fish: of these they have a great variety, some of which are very delicious.

The houses in Constantinople are, in general, constructed of wood, either plastered with mortar, or painted to resemble brick. They neither possess the solidity and grandeur of the habitations of India, nor the comforts and conveniences of those of Europe; but the greatest defect of these houses is, the constant danger of their catching fire; and whenever it does happen, many hundreds of them are consumed before the

fire can be extinguished. There is scarcely a street in the town that has not been burned down, three or four times within the last fifty years. They however continue to rebuild them with wood; and assign as a reason their apprehension from earthquakes: this, however, is a mere idle excuse; and the real fact is, that they do not wish to expend such a sum of money as would be requisite to build a brick or stone house; not considering that the rebuilding a wooden one, with the loss of furniture, &c. is, in the end, more expensive. Besides, although several earthquakes have happened in this city, they have not destroyed the mosques or other public buildings, all of which are built of brick or stone.

In the houses of the higher classes, there is always a large room, either for business or for the reception of guests; the entrance

to which is in the long side. Opposite the door is the seat of the master of the house; and along that side of the room there is a row of heavy, gloomy windows. All round the room, except at the entrance, is placed a seat, a foot and a half high, on which are laid cushions stuffed with wool, three or four inches thick, and covered with broad-cloth. When a person sits down on one of these cushions, in the Oriental fashion, he sinks into it, and finds it difficult to alter his position. The middle of the room is covered with a thick carpet; which, with the cushions, are not taken up once in six months, and are, consequently, well inhabited by fleas and bugs. These creatures do not seem to annoy the Turks, but are sure to pay their respects to a stranger.

In Constantinople there are twenty-five public mosques, all of which are built in a

handsome style, and highly ornamented; but the great Mosque of *Sufyeh* (Sophia) excels, in grandeur and elegance, any building I have ever seen. The boasted cathedral of St. Paul's, the superb domes of Paris and of Genoa, were all obliterated from my memory by the sight of this sanctuary: in short, nothing in the world is equal to it. The centre of the building, immediately under the great dome, is one hundred yards square; this is surrounded on all sides by lofty aisles, forty yards wide, supported by massy, but highly ornamented, pillars of porphyry. All round the upper part of the building there runs a gallery, capable of holding an immense number of spectators.

This mosque is built of various kinds of stone, and was erected by order of Constantine, the founder of the city, and the

first of the Cæsars who was converted to Christianity. It was finished in the year of the Christian æra 314; that is, 1488 years ago; and was for many years sacred to Christianity. But when Sultan Mohammed took Constantinople, he sanctified it to the Mussulman religion. It is constructed of such excellent materials, and the workmanship is so well executed, that, notwithstanding its antiquity, it has all the appearance of a modern building.

The mosques next in celebrity to St. Sophia, are those built by the Sultans Ahmed, Mohammed Fateh, Bajazet, Mahmood, and Mahmood Pasha. The exterior architecture of all these is very fine: they are also handsomely carved and gilded. In front of each of these there is an extensive court, in the centre of which is a large reservoir, containing a *jet d'eau*, for the purpose of

purification. There are also, round the court, several other reservoirs for this purpose; and on the outside of the court-wall is an extensive range of buildings, containing shops, coffee-houses, &c. Some of the mosques have also colleges attached to them, where the students are instructed gratis.

The private mosques in Constantinople are innumerable; but these are, in general, mean buildings; and, except the door, and the minars, on which the Mauzins stand to call the people to prayer, there is nothing handsome about them.

Several of the bazars in this city are handsome; but the most celebrated one is a square, encompassed with a wall, extending a mile each way. It has several large gates, and is laid out in the interior with gravel-walks, covered at top with an arched

roof lighted by glass windows, which may be opened or shut by means of ropes and pulleys. On each side of these walks there is a range of shops, containing a great quantity of valuable merchandize. Each profession, or trade, has its particular walk; but the most extraordinary regulation of this bazar is, that the shops are never open after twelve o'clock in the day; and on Friday there is not a single person to be seen in it.

I had heard a number of Persians speak in raptures of this bazar; but as, in the course of my life, I have been often disappointed in my expectation from the exaggerated descriptions of other people, so, in this instance, I was completely mortified. In the first place, the shops are so dark, that it is impossible to distinguish colours; and although I put on my spectacles, and

held my bargain up to the light, I bought a blue turban instead of a green one. Secondly, the air is so confined, that disagreeable smells are engendered; and, thirdly, as the sun can never penetrate the shops, or the streets between them, the former are excessively damp; and in the latter, the mud is ancle-deep during the whole winter.

In Constantinople there is a great variety of fruit to be procured: they have abundance of both musk and water melons; also apples, quinces, mulberries, pomegranates, lemons, and grapes. Their dried fruits are all excellent, especially their raisins, prunes, almonds, pistachios, nuts, and dates.

In one of my peregrinations through the city, I met, at the Mosque of the Emperor Bajazet, with an Afghan of Candahar, who

spoke Persian fluently, and said he was a student in the college; and further informed me, that many Mohammedans came yearly to Constantinople, from Candahar, the Punjab, Sinde, and other places of India, to study the sciences in the numerous colleges of this city;—that a little distance from where he resided, there was a monastery of three hundred Indian Fakeers, and that, if I wished it, he would introduce me to them; but as I concluded they were an assemblage of low, ignorant people, or smokers of opium, I declined his offer.

It may be necessary to explain, that, in Turkey, derveishes are treated with great respect, and the common people are strongly impressed with an idea of their sanctity. There are several sects of them, each of which is distinguished by a peculiar cap. They exhibit a number of sleight-of-hand

tricks, and pretend to work miracles: they turn round and dance to the sound of a drum, till they are quite giddy, and will then rush into the fire, or attempt any other mad action. The Turks are partial to the derveishes of their own country, but tolerate those of any other nation.

CHAP. XXIX.

Character of the Turks—Limited power of the Emperor—Authority of the Viziers, and of the Cazies—Freedom of the Women—Female Slaves—Hard fate of the Princesses. The Author introduced to the Viziers—presented to the Emperor—not visited by any of the Nobility—forms an acquaintance with the East-India Company's Agent, and the Interpreter to the English Embassy, also with the Interpreter to the German Embassy—obtains a second audience of the Emperor. Passports. A public Mehmandar, or Conductor, appointed to attend the Author to Bagdad—his character, and an account of his conduct.

THE Turks are, in general, persons of strict honour, intrepid, liberal, hospitable, friendly, and compassionate; and their government is conducted with greater attention to justice

than any other of the modern Mohammedan States. I had not a sufficient opportunity of judging correctly of their jurisprudence; but I learned that their Emperors have not the power of shedding blood unjustly, nor can they follow the bent of their own inclinations or passions with impunity. On all affairs of consequence they are obliged to consult their nobles, who are kept in proper subjection by the hope of promotion or the fear of punishment; and although the nobles seldom transgress, either against the laws or the regulations of the State, they are always trembling for their lives; as it frequently happens, that, on mere suspicion, they are summoned to the Ministers' tribunal, and there condemned to suffer death, without knowing of what, or by whom, they are accused.

The authority of the Viziers is also so very despotic, that the governors of provinces, or generals of armies, seldom dare to harbour an idea of insurrection or rebellion; but if an instance of the kind ever does occur, and the Ministers do not feel themselves sufficiently powerful to punish it immediately, they compromise the affair, and wait till the disaffected chief is either carried off by death, or falls into their snares. By these means the Ottoman Government has flourished for six hundred years, without experiencing any open rebellion, though symptoms of insurrection have been frequently manifested.

The *Cazies* (judges), although in general illiterate, and open to bribery, are nevertheless very arbitrary in their decisions; and whether these decisions are correct or otherwise, they are irrevocable, and must be

obeyed by the governors or commanders. The Cazies are appointed and displaced by the *Sudder Aazim* (Lord Chancellor), who is always one of the principal Viziers. Their nomination is only for one year, at the expiration of which period they return to Constantinople; and if their conduct has been approved, they are again appointed to some other district; but if condemned, they are dismissed, and compelled to retire in disgrace. On this account they are always very circumspect, and do not connive at the malconduct of the governors and collectors, but administer justice with more impartiality than might be expected from such characters.

The Turkish women are allowed a much greater degree of freedom than those of Persia or India. The wives of the noblemen and higher classes are permitted to

go out, and visit each other, either entirely unveiled, or with a small veil over their faces. They are also allowed to walk out in the streets, bazars, and gardens. Male slaves, and young men from fifteen to twenty years of age, if nearly connected, are permitted to enter the women's apartments, and converse with their relations. By these means, the Turkish women acquire some knowledge of the world; and being constantly accustomed to see men, behold them with more indifference than the ladies of India. If, notwithstanding these advantages, they are sometimes guilty of impropriety, they are not so liable to be discovered as in India, and the husband's honour is thereby preserved.

In India, it is reckoned disgraceful for a woman to marry a second time; but a Turkish woman may marry again, within a

few months after the death of her husband, without any scandal or reproach.

Although the opulent Turks keep a number of women, they are seldom married to more than one wife at a time: the remainder consist of Georgian and Circassian slaves, who are celebrated throughout the world for their beauty and accomplishments. These are permitted to dress and live equally well with the wife; but they are, in every other respect, subject to her authority and command.

Besides the Georgian and Circassian women, every *haram* contains a number of Ethiopian, or other female slaves, who perform all the menial offices. These are sometimes permitted to share their master's bed, but are generally given in marriage to the male slaves, or some man dependent on

the family. When tired of their concubines, they dispose of them in the same manner.

One of the most peculiar and reprehensible of the Turkish customs, is their marrying the sisters and daughters of the Emperor to different noblemen; on condition, that if they have any male issue, the child shall immediately be put to death. The origin, or reason of this regulation, is unknown, and appears quite unaccountable. If it was occasioned by an apprehension that those children should ever lay claim to the throne, and thereby cause dissension in the State, why is not the same rule enforced on the Princes? but on the contrary, they are allowed to increase and multiply their species, on condition of the children remaining in the Seraglio (*Serai Aaly*, Imperial Palace) till summoned to the throne. Whatever may have been the

origin of this absurd custom, the fact is, that the Emperor's midwives always attend the *accouchement* of every Princess; and if the child proves a boy, they immediately dispatch him to his forefathers.

The better classes of the Turks are very religious, and say their prayers regularly five times in the day: they also scrupulously observe all the ordinances of the ecclesiastical law, and fast every day during the whole month of Ramzan, or Mohammedan Lent, whether at home or on a journey.

The day after my arrival in Constantinople, Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador, sent intelligence of it to the *Reis Effendi* (Minister of Foreign Affairs), who requested to have the pleasure of seeing me on the following day. At the hour appointed I waited on his Excellency, and was gra-

ciously received. He entertained me with coffee, and the hookah: but as he did not understand Persian, and seemed an illiterate man, I requested he would introduce me to the Prime Minister, Yusuf Pasha. He immediately assented, and sent a message to that nobleman, explaining my wishes.

The offices of all the Viziers are in the same court or division of the palace; the entrance to which is through a lofty gateway, called the *Babi Homayon* (Imperial Gate), translated by Europeans, the *Sublime Porte*. Here all the business of the empire is transacted, and the public letters are dated from this spot. All the Viziers assemble at an early hour at the Prime Minister's apartment; and having consulted with him on the state of affairs, repair to their own offices, where they remain the whole day.

The vicinity of these offices to each other much facilitates business, and is deserving of imitation.

The messenger of the Reis Effendi soon returned, accompanied by a servant of Yusuf Pasha, who informed me, that his master was anxious to have the pleasure of seeing me. Having taken leave of the Effendi, I immediately proceeded to the apartments of the Prime Minister. I found him seated in a magnificent hall, lighted by glazed windows, and handsomely furnished with couches and rich carpets; and attended by above fifty slaves, or servants. He received me with much politeness, and we conversed for a considerable time in Persian. As his Excellency's beard was very long, and mine had been lately cut, he rallied me much on this subject, and made me promise never again to let the scissars touch it.

After I had taken my leave of the Prime Minister, I received a message from Ahmed Effendi, commonly called *Kija Beg*, the Vizier for the Home Department, to request I would honour him with my company: I immediately waited on him, and experienced much pleasure from this visit. His Excellency has the most intelligent and handsome countenance I have ever seen: his manners are elegant, and his conversation lively and agreeable. When I was about to depart, he ordered one of his servants to attend me to the Mosque of St. Sophia, and to shew me all the sacred places, and other public buildings of Constantinople.

Some days afterwards, I had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor, Sultan Selim, (May his prosperity endure for ever!) and presented his Majesty with a complete

Persian translation of the *Camoos* (a celebrated Arabic Dictionary), in two volumes. As it is a very scarce work, and had cost me a large sum of money, and much pains to correct it, and as all the well-educated Turks are admirers of the Persian language, I requested that his Majesty would have the goodness to order it to be printed, as a book which would prove exceedingly beneficial to his subjects. I also stipulated with his Majesty, that, in the preface of the printed edition, it should be recorded by whose means the book became known in Constantinople. The Emperor condescendingly acquiesced in my request; and, having ordered it to be committed to writing, signed the paper with his own hand, and delivered the book to the librarian. He then commanded that I should be clothed in a dress of honour, and a sum of money be given me. The latter I begged

leave to decline; and informed his Majesty, that my only motive for bringing the book to Constantinople was for the benefit of mankind; that for this pious action I hoped for a reward in the *next* world, and therefore would not give up my expectation for the vanities of *this*. The Emperor smiled, and desired to see me again, before I left his capital.

As the period of my residence in Constantinople was only twenty-eight days, my acquaintance with the Turkish nobility was very limited, and I only visited the Viziers and Officers of State in their public capacity; the reasons for which were briefly these. In the first place, as the winter was fast approaching, and the road to Bagdad is frequently obstructed by snow, I was only anxious to pursue my journey. Secondly, as the Turks have a great enmity to the

Persians, on account of their ancient wars and difference of religion, and even consider the shedding of their blood as lawful, they used to look on me with aversion. It perhaps would have been prudent in me to have changed my dress; but as I intended to remain among them only a short time, and had a great abhorrence to their cumbrous garments, I would not yield to their prejudices. Thirdly, as I prided myself on being a descendant of the Prophet, (on whom, and on his descendants, be the blessing of God!) I expected that they should first visit me; and they, being proud of their offices and wealth, thought it my duty to wait on them.

To compensate for the inattention of the Turks, I had a very extensive society of Persians, Indians, and Armenians. The two former were, in general, well-informed,

or religious men, who had come to Constantinople for the purpose of study. The latter reside in Galata, and are mostly engaged in trade: they come hither from Aleppo, Tokat, Amasia, and other cities in subjection to the Turks. Their language is a mixture of Armenian and Turkish. Many of them have acquired great wealth; but, as their national vice is avarice, I never experienced any degree of hospitality or liberality from them. Once or twice I was asked to their evening parties, and had an opportunity of seeing a number of their young women, many of whom I thought handsome.

Mr. Tooke, the East-India Company's Agent, who had resided forty years in Turkey, and had, in consequence, nearly forgotten the English morality, behaved to me with much politeness, but, I suspect,

with very little sincerity; for when I requested him to procure for me a *Chupur* (conductor), to guide and assist me in my journey, at the current rate of the country, which, I have since learned, is only one hundred and fifty, or two hundred kurush, he assured me that no respectable person of that kind could be had for less than 1500 kurush; that the requisite expences amounted to 1000; and that the man could not expect less than 500 for his trouble. It was in consequence of this statement, and his hypocritical conduct, that I applied to the Viziers for one of the public conductors, who behaved excessively ill to me, and cost me much more than I could have hired one for, who would have paid implicit obedience to my commands. This subject will be further explained in the sequel.

I had frequent opportunities of becoming

acquainted with Mr. Pozany, the Public Interpreter to the British Embassy. This person is a Greek, and has acquired an immense fortune by his employment, independent of the great emoluments he derives from the business of his office. All the English who travel this road are entirely at his mercy; and from not understanding the language of the country, they are obliged to employ him, or one of his deputies, in all their transactions: they are, in consequence, completely pillaged. I know not whether it was from his having been disappointed in his expectations of plundering me, or that it was owing to the antipathy the Greeks bear to all Mohammedans, that he became my enemy, and, previous to my setting out, whispered something in the ear of my conductor which effaced from his recollection the solemn injunctions and positive commands he had received, both

from Lord Elgin and Ahmed Effendi (the second Vizier), as will hereafter be explained.

From the society of Mr. Himrou I derived much satisfaction. He is a young man of a most amiable disposition and enlightened understanding: he is by birth a German, but speaks the Latin, French, English, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages. He was formerly employed as interpreter by Sir Sidney Smith, and was his constant companion during the siege of Acre. He is now in the service of the Emperor of Germany, who constantly retains a splendid embassy at the Turkish Court. This gentleman translated several of my odes, into English, French, and German; and sent them to London, Paris, and Vienna. He visited me daily, and introduced me to his Excellency the German

Ambassador. By means of this introduction, I had an opportunity of seeing, at his Excellency's routs, not only all the ladies belonging to the different European embassies, but also a great number of Greeks and Armenians. The Ambassador and his lady are very highly esteemed in Constantinople; and, judging from their conduct, and that of some others of their countrymen whom I have met with in the course of my travels, I conclude that the Germans stand very high in the scale of polished nations.

Having seen every thing that was worthy of observation in Constantinople, and being anxious to pursue my journey before the winter set in, I solicited my audience of leave, which was immediately granted: and the Emperor, on this occasion also, behaved to me with the greatest condescension and kindness.

In obedience to the Royal orders, a *Mehmandar* (conductor) was appointed to attend me from Constantinople to Bagdad, whose duty it was to provide me with horses, and every other requisite, on the road. I was also furnished with three *firmauns* (orders, or passports). The first of these was general, and addressed to all the Pashas, Governors, and Commanders, wherever I should halt, to be attentive to me, to take me into their *own* houses, and to supply all my wants: it also directed the postmasters to furnish me, at every stage, with two riding horses, and four horses for my servants and baggage. The second firmaun was addressed to Abdullah Aga, Governor of Mardine, directing him to send a party of cavalry to escort me safe over the desert which is situated between Mardine and Mousul, a place said to be replete with danger. The third was di-

rected to Aly Pasha, Viceroy of Bagdad, commanding him to yield me every assistance in his power, to entertain me in his own house, to facilitate my pilgrimage to the shrines of the Martyrs (Hussein, grandson of Mohammed, and his family) who fell at Kerbela, and to escort me safe to Bussora.

As an additional proof of the Emperor's esteem, the sum of six hundred kurush were paid from the treasury to my *Mehmandar*, whose name was Hajy Aly, to furnish me with provisions on that part of the road where there were not any towns or public officers.

When I took leave of my friend Ahmed Effendi, he ordered the Mehmandar into his presence; and told him, in my hearing, that he was, in every respect, to conform to my wishes; to permit me, if I chose it, to

make three days' journey in one, or *vice versâ;* and, in short, to act as if he, the Effendi, was the person under his charge. He also informed him, that if he conducted himself with propriety, and brought back from me a certificate to that effect, he should be promoted. The scoundrel kissed the hem of the Effendi's garment; and said he would willingly forfeit his eyes and his head, if he deviated, in the smallest degree, from his commands.

The next morning, however, he came to Lord Elgin, and said the money entrusted him by Government was insufficient for the purpose, and solicited a further sum. His lordship generously gave him a hundred kurush in addition, and conferred on him a *khelaat*, or dress of honour, with an exhortation to take the greatest care of me, which he most solemnly promised.

As it would be an endless task to enumerate all the villanies of this scoundrel on the road, I shall here give a compendium of his conduct. In the first place, the money which was given him for my use he appropriated to himself, and during the whole journey did not expend one hundred kurush on my account. Secondly, instead of conducting me to the houses of the Pashas or Governors, he took me, during the first part of the journey, to the post-houses, where I was so bit by fleas and bugs, that I could not sleep an hour during a whole night. When I demanded why he did not carry me to the house of the Governor, he told me some gross falsehood, as an excuse. However, after the first three or four days, having discovered his character, I myself waited on the Pashas, or Governors, whenever we arrived at the end of our journey before midnight; and

having shewn them the Sultan's order, I was immediately received into their houses, and treated with much respect. Thirdly, contrary to his instructions, he frequently obliged me to ride three or four long stages in one day; but when it suited his own convenience better, he would not go more than one or two stages in a day. His chief object in this conduct was, to avoid the towns in which the Pashas resided, and to oblige me to pass the night in the post-houses, where, in consequence of my pass-ports, he was supplied with every thing gratis. During our journey we fell in with a caravan, and for several days he obliged me to keep company with it, under pretence that the road was infested with robbers. His conduct was, in short, so disgusting, that I hated the sight of him; and on my arrival at Diarbekir, I entreated the Governor, Ahmed Effendi, to furnish me with

another conductor as far as his authority extended. This request he obligingly complied with, and ordered one of his own servants to accompany me to Mardine: thence I was escorted by one of the servants of Abdullah Aga Pasha as far as Mousul; and from Mousul to Bagdad by an officer in the service of Mohammed Pasha.

Although I had dispensed with the attendance of the cursed wretch the *Mehmandar*), and told him he might return to Constantinople, he would not quit me, fearing he should be called to an account for the sum of money advanced to him for my use: and, upon our arrival at Bagdad, he had the impudence to demand from me a certificate of his good behaviour, and that I was in every respect satisfied with his conduct.

CHAP. XXX.

The Author leaves Constantinople. Account of his journey. History of the city of Amasia—Gold and Silver Mines in its neighbourhood. Account of Sewas, or Sebaste. Anecdotes of the inhabitants of Hussen Buddery. Occurrence at Malatia. Description of the Euphrates. Account of a salt-water lake. Description of Diarbekir—Author hospitably entertained by the Governor. Description of Mardine—Panegyric on the Governor. Account of Nisibes.

On Sunday the 4th of Shaban 1218, (2d of December 1802,) having taken leave of my kind friends, Lord and Lady Elgin, I crossed the harbour from Galata, and passed the night at an inn, near the mosque of Mahmood Pasha, in Constantinople. The

following day I crossed the strait, and passed that night at Scudari, a handsome town on the Asiatic shore.

On Tuesday, after breakfast, I commenced the most toilsome and dangerous journey I had ever undertaken: but, as it was a part of the world I was anxious to see, and led towards home, I was in good spirits. We stopped the first night at Keza, twelve fersukh from Scudari. This journey is not performed by the caravans in less than twelve hours, as they seldom travel at a quicker rate than a fersukh in the hour. A fersukh is equal to two Hindoostany coss, or four English miles.

The following day we reached Azmut, pronounced, by Europeans, Azmus, being only thirty-six miles. It is a very ancient and extensive town, inhabited chiefly by

Christians. Its bazars are well supplied with provisions and merchandise.

On the 8th (Shaban) we mounted our horses at daylight, and, after travelling twenty-eight miles, refreshed ourselves, and changed horses, at a mean, dirty village, called Tebanche: thence we proceeded forty miles, to Khunduk, a pretty village, with a stream of clear water running through it. As the post-house was here tolerably clean, and the people civil, I passed a pleasant night. The weather now began to be very cold, and we had several showers of hail, with some frost. On the 9th, we again set out at day-break, and, having changed horses at Dozjeh, arrived, some hours after dark, at Bely. This day's journey was ninety-six miles; and the latter part of it was over a very steep mountain, of nearly twenty miles ascent. The road is

excessively narrow, and cut, in a zigzag form, up the side of the mountain, resembling the path-way made by ants over a mole-hill.

As the weather was very cold, I was so loaded with clothes and furs, that I could not walk; and although it was quite dark while we were descending, I was obliged to trust entirely to my horse; but if he had either stumbled, or gone six inches out of the road, I must inevitably have been dashed to pieces. It was therefore very bad management in my conductor to come on this second stage, at such a season of the year; and I strongly advise all persons who shall travel this road, to stop during the night at Dozjeh, and commence this stage with the morning light. I must however observe, that the inhabitants of this village have the character of being savages, thieves, and robbers.

On the 10th, we proceeded to the village of Karadah, forty-eight miles, and intended to have gone on another stage that evening; but the postmaster being an acquaintance of my conductor, he insisted upon entertaining all our party. He gave us an excellent dinner; and the ducks at this place were superior to any I have ever eaten.

On the 11th, we mounted early in the morning, and changed horses at Baynder, thirty-two miles: thence to Kerajile thirty miles. Here we again obtained fresh horses, and proceeded to Carajuran, twenty-two miles; making, in all, eighty-four miles. It was midnight before we arrived at the last stage, and were therefore obliged to put up at the post-house, among fleas and bugs. This place is famous for good honey and fine butter; and both these articles are carried to a great distance.

On the 12th we reached, at an early hour, Kubbeh Hissar, a dirty village. The people of the post-house were great knaves, and detained us two hours, under pretence of shoeing their horses, and preparing dinner for my attendants. After repeated entreaties, they brought our horses; but, in consequence of this detention, it was late at night before we arrived at Tosieh. The journey this day was about eighty miles. Tosieh is a very large town, but the post-house was the filthiest place I had ever seen; the keepers of it were also the most avaricious and troublesome people I ever met with. In consequence of their impositions and altercation, it was nine or ten o'clock on the 13th before we could proceed. Our first stage was to Hajy Humze, thirty-six miles; and the second to Osman Jok, thirty-two miles: total, sixty-eight miles. The whole of this day's

journey was over steep mountains and dreadfully bad roads.

The 14th we dined at Mersuan, distance fifty-six miles; and at midnight reached Amasia, thirty-two miles: total, eighty-eight miles. Mersuan is a large village, situated in an extensive plain, and contains an excellent post-house, the people of which were exceedingly attentive, moderate in their charges, and readily supplied us with horses. At Amasia, though a considerable city, well inhabited, and abounding with both water and wind-mills, every thing was the reverse. The streets were narrow, and full of mud; the post-house filthy in the extreme, and the landlord a great cheat; the provisions were also bad, and the servants inattentive. During this journey I had occasion to observe, that the accommodations in the villages were always superior to those in large towns.

Be it known, that after the defeat and captivity of Sultan Bajazet by the Emperor Timour (Tamerlane), at Sewas, all the Ottoman princes and nobles having dispersed themselves in various quarters, Sultan Mohammed (the son of Bajazet) took refuge at Amasia, and by the strength of its fortifications was enabled to repel the attacks of a detachment of the Tartars which was sent against him.

When Timour returned to Samarcand, Sultan Mohammed declared himself Emperor of the Ottomans, and for twenty years made Amasia his capital. During this period he was constantly engaged in war with his relations, many of whom had taken possession of certain districts, and assumed independence. He finally conquered them all; and, having crossed the Strait of Constantinople, got possession of some of the

European provinces, and, in fact, regained all the authority and dominion of his father.

On the 15th, I chose to stop at the village of Terkhal, but was obliged to feed the horses at my own expence; it being contrary to the Turkish regulations to stop any where but at the regular stages. This village was however clean, and the people very civil.

On the 16th we reached Tokat, being a journey of eighty-eight miles. This is a very ancient and celebrated town of Armenia; it produces the largest and finest grapes I have ever seen, and in great abundance; but the post-house is one of the worst on the road: we were however detained at it for three days, for want of horses. At length the Governor compelled one of the public carriers to supply me with two horses

and some mules; and threatened the master of the post-house in such a manner, that he and all his dependants absconded.

The country between Amasia and Tokat is exceedingly mountainous, and the road very circuitous and difficult. In these mountains there are mines both of gold and silver, which are worked on account of Government, and the metal sent to Constantinople to be coined. We slept the night of the 20th at a village called Carkhan.

On the 21st we reached Sewas. The distance between it and Tokat is ninety-six miles, and is generally performed in one day; but, on account of the badness of the weather, and the fear of being lost in the snow, I took two days to it. During these two days it snowed very hard, and blew with such violence, that two of the

mules, which were heavy laden, fell down precipices, and were dashed to pieces.

Sewas (the Sebaste of the Romans) is an ancient and large city, and is frequently mentioned in history. It is, however, a very dirty town, and our horses sunk up to their knees in the streets. At this place I had the honour of being entertained by the Pasha: but as even his house was very dirty, and infested with fleas, how abominable must the post-house have been!

The country between Tokat and Sewas is a continued range of mountains, and at this time was entirely covered with snow. Tokat, Sewas, Diarbekir, and Mardine, are all reckoned in Turkish Armenia. The cities of Kariz, Erzeroum, Van, and Errvan, lay at some distance on our left hand, and are considered as belonging to Persian Armenia.

On the 22d we stopt at Olash, and on the 23d reached Dilkuldash, distant from Sewas forty-eight miles. This place is famous for its raisins and currants. The town is situated on the top of a mountain, which, being covered with snow, was exceedingly difficult of ascent.

The 24th we halted at Aljekhan, and the 25th at Hussen Chelebi. The distance of these two stages is sixty-four miles.

The 26th we only travelled forty-four miles, and stopped at Hussen Buddery. The country between this and Tokat is, on account of its elevated situation, excessively cold; but as we were travelling south, it gradually became warmer.

Hussen Buddery is inhabited by Soonies, (followers of Abubeker, Omar, and Osman,)

whose ancestors fled from Daghistan, in consequence of the cruelties of Nadir Shah. They are a stupid and savage race, and so avaricious, that they will not put their provisions to the fire till the traveller has paid twice the value: and when the dinner is laid out, they sit down without being asked, and thrust their hands into the dish without ceremony. Their women bring fruit and other articles for sale, and are very abusive if you do not purchase of them. The post-house is surrounded by beggars, who are very clamorous: they are also accused of being highway robbers. As I was apprehensive of being plundered by these people, and afraid of being lost in the snow, I made short journeys through this part of the country, and generally contrived to arrive at the end of the stage by four o'clock in the afternoon. Although by this method I avoided all dan-

ger, it subjected me to disagreeable company, who, out of curiosity, used to come and smoke their pipes where I was.

On the 27th, after a journey of thirty-two miles, I reached Malatia early in the day. When we approached this city, we found the fersukhs marked by stones, which custom is certainly a great comfort to the weary traveller.

Malatia is a large town, but very dirty, owing to the streets in this country not being paved; and as the post-house was excessively filthy, I took up my residence at the house of a Mutusullum (a pretended Mussulman). This old gentleman had a most reverend-looking white beard, a foot and a half long, and was very austere. During our conversation, his children, who were very beautiful, gathered round us, and began

to laugh at my appearance and mode of talking. The old man got into a passion, beat some of them, and drove them all away. I was much vexed with him for his conduct, as I preferred their innocent prattle and playfulness to his musty conversation. During this day it rained very hard; and I was informed that snow very seldom falls here, though it is to be seen on the mountains between this and Mardine; but at Mousul and Bagdad it is never seen.

On the 28th we left Malatia, and, after travelling twenty-eight miles, arrived on the banks of the Euphrates. At this place the river rushes from between two mountains, with great violence and considerable depth. A little further down the stream we came to a ferry, where we crossed, and halted at Aiz Ougly. This is a Kurd village; and its Chief was one of the proudest, stupid fellows

I have ever met with: and as at this place there is not any post-house, he entertains all travellers of rank gratis; but he makes up for this expence by the exorbitancy of his charges for horses. Notwithstanding this village is situated on the banks of the river, I found the greatest difficulty in getting water, and was absolutely obliged to set out in the morning without washing my face or hands.

We mounted our horses at an early hour on the 29th, and, after travelling sixteen miles, were again obliged to cross the river. We then struck into a very mountainous country. The steepness of several parts of the road was such, that our saddles slipped backward and forward, and I lost a very valuable surtout coat which was buckled on the back of my saddle; in consequence of which I suffered severely, for several days, from the rain and cold.

In the evening we arrived at Hizpote, distant from Aiz Ougly forty-eight miles. Here we found an excellent post-house, and got a very good dinner. It was my wish to have stopped here for the night, but my brutal Mehmandar insisted upon my proceeding another stage: we therefore travelled on till midnight, through shocking roads, and were obliged to put up at a ruined caravanserai, in the midst of the mountains. During this part of the journey we passed by a salt-water lake, which is forty-eight miles in circumference, and in many places unfathomable. As the road lay along the shores of this lake, and the rocks often projected into it, we were frequently forced to ride up to our horses' bellies in the water: and if these animals had not been much superior to those with which we were generally furnished, they must have sunk under the fatigue. Two loaded mules, belonging

to some persons who accompanied us, were lost during the darkness and storm.

The last day of Shaban, after travelling thirty-two miles, we arrived at Arganeh. The distance between this place and Hizpote is sixty-four miles. The whole of the road is over mountains, difficult of access. One of these, on account of its height, is called the Arched Mountain: it contains several valuable mines of copper; and in it is the source of the river Tigris. During the course of this morning's journey, we were obliged to cross the river four or five times. The water in it was very shallow, but ran with great rapidity, and was of a yellow colour, being strongly saturated with mud. This river increases quickly in size, as you descend the stream. At Diarbekir it is of considerable breadth. At Mousul they are under the necessity of having bridges over

it, at all seasons of the year; and at Bagdad I have seen it, at times, as broad as the Ganges.

Arganeh is situated on the side of a mountain; which is not cut into terraces to render the ascent easy, but the streets are absolutely so steep, that it is with much difficulty a stranger can clamber up them. This is considered as the first town, on the road from Constantinople, in the Jezireh or country between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. As the post-house was, as usual, dirty, I took up my lodgings at the house of a pretended Mussulman; and, as the road was considered very dangerous, in consequence of the inhabitants of Diarbekir having revolted against the Turkish Government, I halted the 1st of Ramzan (28th December), in order to accompany a caravan which was to leave Arganeh the next day.

On the 2d we set out at an early hour; and, after travelling fourteen hours, halted at a ruined caravanserai, the only shop remaining in which was that of a seller of wood; but, as it had rained the whole day, and was excessively cold, even that shop afforded a great comfort, as we were thereby enabled to light large fires, and to dry our clothes and blankets over them.

On the 3d, although it continued to rain very hard, we proceeded on our journey, and at noon reached Diarbekir, sixty-eight miles distant from Arganeh.

Diarbekir is the handsomest and most populous city on this road. It is situated on the bank of the river, and is surrounded by hills: these, however, are of an easy ascent, and covered with verdure. The tops of them are level, and contain some neat villages,

surrounded by gardens and groves. In short, the appearance of this place was quite delightful, after the rude and rugged scenery through which we had lately passed.

The city is surrounded by a wet ditch, and a good rampart with stone bastions: it contains several handsome mosques and caravanserais, also the tomb of the celebrated Khaled Ben Valed, Generalissimo of the first Khalif, who conquered Syria. Notwithstanding it rained very hard, I immediately waited on Ahmed Effendi, the Governor, who received me with much hospitality and kindness, and insisted upon my staying with him two or three days. When I complained to him of the villainy of my conductor, he regretted it was not in his power to punish or exchange him, as he was a public servant of the Government, but kindly ordered one of his own officers to accompany me to Mardine,

and to supply all my wants. He also made me a present of a large surtout coat lined with fur, which I found of the most essential use to me during the remainder of the journey.

On the 6th I took leave of this worthy man, and, after travelling fifty-six miles, halted at a caravanserai in the mountains; but as it had no chimney, and we were obliged to light a fire in the middle of the room, I was kept awake all night by the smoke.

Between Arganeh and this place, we several times saw horsemen, who appeared to be robbers; but as we were a numerous party, they did not venture to attack us.

On the morning of the 7th we found it had snowed very hard during the night: and

as we were apprehensive that the roads would be impassable if we remained at the caravanserai any longer, we mounted our horses during a heavy fall of snow, and pushed on to Mardine, sixteen miles. It was fortunate we escaped; as I afterwards learned from Mr. Jones, that when he made that journey, nineteen horses out of twenty-one which accompanied him perished in the snow.

Mardine is situated on the side of a steep hill, and is surrounded by a good rampart and stone bastions. On the top of the hill there is a strong citadel, built by Soleyman Pasha, Governor of Bagdad; and as the approach to this city is over mountains and rugged roads, it is esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in this part of the world.

The language of the common people of

Mardine is a mixture of Arabic and Kurdish; but the higher classes understand Turkish and Persian also. On the road from Constantinople to Malatia, Turkish only was understood: from the latter to Diarbekir, many of the inhabitants spoke Arabic; and between Diarbekir and Mardine I met with several persons who could converse in Persian: but between this and Bagdad, all four languages are understood.

Soon after my arrival at Mardine, I paid my respects to Abdullah Aga, the Governor, who invited me to take up my residence at his house. This officer is one of the most intelligent of the Turkish noblemen; and although well known to the Emperor, and on the best terms with the Viziers, is still but the deputy of the Viceroy of Bagdad. He was formerly Governor of Bassora, as the deputy of Soleyman Pasha, and has left

there many monuments of his fame. He was beloved by all the inhabitants, both rich and poor, who relate many anecdotes of his justice and wisdom. As he spoke Persian fluently, and was an entertaining companion, I passed my time very pleasantly with him. He pressed me much to remain with him all the month of Ramzan (the Mohammedan Lent); but as I was anxious to pursue my journey, and the weather was very cold at Mardine, I declined his obliging offer.

I remained at Mardine four days; and as the Governor did not feel himself authorized to send away the public Mehmandar, he obligingly ordered one of his own servants to accompany me, to whom he gave positive orders to comply with all my wishes. And as the road to Mousul, across the Desert, is considered as replete with danger, on which account the Emperor had ordered Abdullah

Aga to furnish me with a proper escort for this part of the journey, he therefore proposed to me to join a large caravan which was proceeding by that route; and having sent for the chief of the caravan, he recommended me to his peculiar care.

On the 12th we quitted Mardine; and after a journey of forty-eight miles, reached Nisibis. During this day's march, I had the good fortune to form an acquaintance with the new Cazy (judge) of Bagdad, who was proceeding to his station, with a retinue of several led horses, a *Tukht ruan* (a litter), fifteen troopers, and twenty musketeers, and, of course, was considered as a person of great consequence. He did me the honour to request I would be his companion during the time we travelled together; and I found considerable advantages in this association.

Nisibis was, several hundred years ago, a very extensive and celebrated city; and, at one period, was the residence of the Roman Emperor. It was also, for a time, the capital of the Mohammedan empire, but is now fallen into decay, and retains no traces of its former grandeur, except the tombs of two Mussulman Saints. It however possesses a good post-house, the landlord of which was very civil, and supplied us with excellent horses. For this last act of kindness we were particularly obliged to him; as between Nisibis and Mousul, which is 200 miles, there is not any place to change horses; the whole country being, in fact, a desert, and much infested by robbers. It was therefore necessary that all our troop should be able to keep together, as any one falling behind would doubtless have been plundered and murdered.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Caravan enters the Kurd country, on the borders of the Desert. Description of the Desert. Caravan detained. Account of the Tribe of Senjar, a race of mountaineers. Journey over the Desert. Author arrives at Mousul—Panegyric on the Arabian horses—Courteously received by Mohammed Pasha—Visits the tomb of St. George of England. Description of Mousul and its inhabitants. Author complains against his conductor—He quits Mousul—is hospitably entertained by some Christian Arabs. Description of Kirkook and Karutapa. The Author arrives at Bagdad. Computation of the distance from Constantinople to Bagdad.

On the 13th we entered the country occupied by the Kurds, and halted at a village twenty-four miles from Nisibis, in the vici-

nity of which the Chief of the clan resided. He sent his sons to visit us; but obliged the caravan to pay a heavy duty, for permission to pass through his territories, of which he seemed to consider himself the sovereign, and perfectly independent of the Turkish Government. I accompanied the Cazy to the house of a Kurd carpenter, who gave us an excellent dinner, and comfortable beds.

On the 14th, after a march of twenty-four miles, we arrived at the village of Abareh, the residence of Hyder Aga, the chief of a tribe, who entertained us in an hospitable manner.

The reason of our making such short journeys these two days, was, first, that the established duties might be regularly collected from each person in the caravan; and, secondly, as we were about to enter an

uninhabited desert, that the carriers and camel-drivers might have time properly to arrange their loads, and make the requisite alterations.

The generality of the Kurds I met with understood Persian, and, supposing me to be their countryman, behaved with great kindness and attention.

These two days' journey are considered as forming part of the Desert; but no portion of the road from Constantinople is better inhabited, or more abundantly supplied with water; and the whole of the two hundred miles, from Nisibis to Mousul, which had been represented as terrible, is, in my opinion, the pleasantest part of the whole journey; for from Constantinople to Nisibis the country is so mountainous, that we were constantly ascending or descending,

and never met with a plain of a dozen miles in extent. The Desert, on the contrary, is quite level, and resembles Persia, or Hindoostan; and although water is not very plentiful, yet we crossed a rivulet every five or six miles. It must however be recollected, that I passed it at the most favourable season of the year; and that, as there is nothing to shade travellers from the sun, it must be very distressing in the hot weather. The most astonishing circumstance attending this region is, that, notwithstanding it adjoins the countries of Syria and Arabia, both of which abound with woods, and in many places it produces fine pasture, yet there is not to be found in the whole of the Desert, which is a thousand fersukhs in circumference, a tree of a yard high. The inhabitants are therefore obliged to dress their food, and warm themselves in the winter, either with the dung of their

cattle, or to bring wood and coals, at a great expence, from other countries. On this account they are very sparing of their fuel; and suffer as much from cold in the winter, as they do from the violent heat of the summer.

In the Desert there are scarcely any villages to be found; but the stages, and residence of the Chiefs of the tribes, are marked by mounds or hillocks.

We halted two days at Abareh, waiting for Shaikh Shellal, chief of the tribe of Ty, who had promised the Governor of Mardine to escort us safely across the Desert; but as he did not come, the leaders of the caravan, which consisted of two or three thousand men, among whom were several hundred musketeers and horsemen, agreed with Hyder Aga, of the above-mentioned tribe, to

accompany us. The reason of their taking this precaution was, that, at a little distance to the right of our route, there is a range of hills occupied by the tribe of Senjar, commonly called Kurds of Yezid, who are said to be infidels, and sworn enemies to the followers of Mohammed. But they themselves say, that they are descended from the Arab tribe of Beni Yezid, or Beni Omieh, who, in consequence of a dispute with the tribe of Beni Abass, were obliged to emigrate from Arabia, and take refuge in these mountains. In the course of time, having increased in numbers, they have rendered themselves formidable to the Turkish Government by their depredations.

After the most minute inquiry on the spot, I am induced to believe they are orthodox Mohammedans, and that their conduct has not been so reprehensible as the

people of Constantinople represent. The name of their chief was Hussein; and during the course of this year he had only plundered one caravan, which had neglected to send him his tribute, and attempted to pass the Desert unknown to him. Some stragglers of this tribe have also at times entered the adjacent territories, and committed highway robberies.

The hills of Senjar produce remarkably fine figs and prunes, which they dry, and carry to the markets of Mardine, Mousul, and Bagdad. The prunes are the largest I have ever seen, and I think were superior to any fruit I have ever tasted.

During our passage across the Desert, a number of these people visited us, and brought with them a quantity of figs, raisins, prunes, walnuts, &c. which they dis-

posed of for money, or exchanged for cloths or other goods. Their dress and language were both Arabian.

On the 15th we travelled fifty-two miles; and as there are no villages or groves on this route, we halted at a spot called *Tul al Hua* (the Hillock of Eve). As this place was not far distant from the Senjar Hills, we were under some alarm; but, fortunately, Shaikh Shellal, with one hundred select horsemen, with large turbans, well armed, and mounted on fleet Arabian mares, joined us at this place. As we were only to halt a few hours, we did not unload the camels, but lay down on the ground without any covering, while the horses and camels ate their corn, and rested a little.

At one o'clock of the morning of the 16th, we again mounted, and, after travel-

ling fifty-two miles, arrived at Hookteh, the residence of Shaikh Shellal, which was nothing more than a castle built on a hillock, for the security of the women and children, in case of any sudden danger. The Kurds always live in tents made of black blankets or hair cloth; and we here found encamped about two hundred families of the tribe of Ty. The remainder of the clan, which, we were informed, consists of fifteen or sixteen thousand families, were dispersed in the Desert, at the distance of one or two days' journey, under the command of a brother of our conductor, named Shaikh Faris; but who, with the whole tribe of Ty, acknowledge Shaikh Shellal as their chief. This person, in fact, assumed all the importance of a sovereign, and, with true Arabian hospitality, kept a constant table for fifty persons. I had the honour of dining with him several times; but although

his table was plentifully supplied, his cookery was wretched.

At a very early hour on the 17th, we re-commenced our march, and, after a short journey of thirty-six miles, reached Homideh, the residence of Shaikh Faris. This place is distant from Abareh (the first stage in the Desert) thirty-five fersukhs; and, except the encampment of the tribe of Ty, there is no other intermediate habitation.

As our conductor was to be relieved at this place by his brother, the caravan was again laid under contribution; and each person was obliged to pay his proportion, according to the value of his property, or number of his camels and horses. I took the opportunity of the delay occasioned by this circumstance, to go into the village, where I was hospitably entertained, by an

Arab, with some excellent bread and butter, and fresh dates; and, as I had not slept for three nights, I also enjoyed a sleep of several hours: after which, as we were only distant twelve miles from Mousul, I ventured to quit the caravan, and in two hours safely reached that city.

As we ought to be grateful to every person or thing that has been useful to us, I must, in this place, express my admiration of the spirit and perseverance of the Arab horses. That on which I rode across the Desert was, in appearance, little better than a poney; and, on the first day, his groom, having been unwell, left me, and returned to Nisibis: on the second day I lost his bag of corn; in consequence of which he had nothing to eat, during the five days' journey, but the little grass which he was enabled to pick up while we halted. During this time

he never had his saddle taken off, or even his girths loosed: notwithstanding which, when I rode into Mousul, he appeared quite fresh, and was playing with the check of his bridle. In short, there are no horses in the world equal to them.

Soon after my arrival at Mousul, I paid my respects to the Viceroy, Mohammed Pasha: he received me in the most courteous manner, and invited me to remain with him for some days. Mohammed Pasha is descended from one of the former Sultans, is a man of great dignity, and one of the most respected of the Turkish nobility. He never associates with any of the inferior officers; but conversed freely with me, and even dispensed with my kissing the hem or skirt of his garment, and some other humiliating ceremonies of his Court. He also regaled me with coffee and a pipe; and then

gave in charge to his son, Mahmud Beg, who is also his deputy, to carry me home, and take care of me.

Mahmud Beg is a very handsome and well-informed young man, and blessed with an amiable disposition. He mounted me every day on one of his finest horses, and took me to see all the places worthy of observation in the vicinity of Mousul: on these occasions we were always attended by a party of horsemen. By his assistance, I visited the tombs of the Prophet Jonas, and of Saint George the champion and tutelary saint of England.

Mousul is situated on the banks of the Tigris, in what is called the *Jezireh*, or 'country between the rivers.' It is fortified, like Mardine, with a deep ditch, a good rampart, and stone bastions; and has a stone bridge across the river.

In this city they have the finest bread and meat I have ever eaten. They have also a great abundance of dried fruits; but, notwithstanding these advantages, the climate is unhealthy, and the people were as desirous of a physician as a person in a high fever is for a draught of water. As I possessed a small degree of knowledge in the science of physic, and had the good fortune to cure one or two persons, I had innumerable applications made to me; and as my fame preceded me, I was annoyed at every stage during my journey to Bagdad, by having all the sick of the village brought for my advice.

In consequence of the attention paid to me by the Viceroy, I was visited by all the public officers, and by the principal inhabitants of Mousul. These, in general, I found to be well-informed, sensible men, of

sociable dispositions and lively imaginations, and much superior to the Turks of Constantinople. In short, since leaving Paris I had not met with such witty and clever people; and if the Viziers of the Sultan had but a tenth part of any one of their abilities, I should be under no apprehension for the fate of the Turkish Government. The principal of these were Ahmed Effendi and his brother, both of whom were secretaries to the Pasha. Also Selime Beg, the late Governor of Kurdistan, a sensible and entertaining man, who spoke Persian fluently, and who had in his suite some of the best officers in the Turkish service. He had, some years ago, rebelled against Aly Pasha, the Viceroy of Bagdad, and endeavoured to depose him; but having failed in the attempt, he was obliged to fly, and take refuge in Mousul.

At this place I also met with Nejif Khan,

a Persian nobleman, and formerly Governor of Baba, who had fled from the tyranny of Futteh Aly Shah, the king of Persia. He was a well-looking young man, dressed well, and had his attendants dressed and mounted in a very superior style.

I remained at Mousul five days; and during this time made a formal complaint to the Pasha against my Mehmandar, and requested to have him exchanged. My reason for again resuming this subject was the behaviour of the officer belonging to the Governor of Mardine, who, instead of obeying the instructions of his master, in attending to my wishes, leagued with the Mehmandar against me. Upon my representation of the case, the Pasha ordered the Mehmandar instantly to quit Mousul, and to proceed whither he pleased. He also directed Casim, his *Khojehdar*

(confidential servant), to attend me to Bagdad.

This communication was very disagreeable to the Mehmandar; who, in consequence, left Mousul, but, instead of returning to Constantinople, as I wished, proceeded, as I afterwards learned, to Kirkook, a town on the road to Bagdad, where his family resided, and where, I was informed, he meant to rejoin me as I passed, in order to obtain from me a *Razy Nameh* (approval of conduct). In this, however, I disappointed him; and laid my plans so well, that I did not see his detested face again till after my arrival at Bagdad.

On the 23d of Ramzan I left Mousul; and, having crossed the river Tigris over the bridge, halted at Kerakoosh, distant sixteen miles.

On the 24th we proceeded to Ankueh, a journey of forty-eight miles. About half way we crossed the river Zab, upon a raft composed of reeds. This river is the boundary between the Governments of Mousul and Bagdad. During these two days' journey I was escorted by ten troopers, belonging to Mohammed Pasha; not on account of any danger on the road, but as a mark of respect, and as a proof of his friendship. The country we passed through, both days, was inhabited by Arab Christians, of the tribe of Beni Ghussan; and as the post-houses were very mean, my new conductor, the Khojehdar, carried me to the houses of the Chiefs, who entertained me very hospitably.

On the 25th, after travelling forty-eight miles, we reached Altin-kupri. This is a large village; and its name, in Turkish,

signifies 'Many bridges,' there being no less than eight bridges over the river at this place. These, in general, have only one arch, which is consequently very high, and its passage as difficult as the Jebbal Mehrab, formerly mentioned.

Our journey on the 26th was to Kirkook, only thirty-six miles. The reason of my making such slow progress was, that the constant and heavy rain impeded our travelling over this level country, as much as the snow had formerly done in the mountains of Sewas and Tokat.

Kirkook is a large town, surrounded with a good rampart and stone bastions, but falling into decay. The houses within the fort are all built of stone or brick; but those in the suburbs are constructed of mud. As this town stands in the middle

of an extensive plain, it makes a good appearance, and is seen at a considerable distance.

On the 27th we travelled thirty-six miles, and entered the village of Taoukh an hour before sun-set. The post-house at this place was a very comfortable one, and the people civil: but as I was apprehensive, if I stopped at this town, that Aly Hajy, my Constantinople Mehmandar, whose house was at Kirkook, and who must have heard of my passing, would follow and overtake me, I changed horses, and proceeded another stage of twenty-eight miles, and slept at Khermaty.

The 28th I rode thirty-six miles, to Kiffery; and having changed horses, proceeded to Karutapa, twenty-eight miles further on. This town is situated at the

bottom of a range of hills, from which there is a plain extending all the way to Bagdad. This place is memorable for a complete victory gained by Nadir Shah over the Turks; and even now the field of battle may be easily traced, by the remains of the redoubts, and lines, which were thrown up by both armies on that occasion. Kirkook was also the scene of one of his victories.

The post-house at Karutapa, and all the others through this district, being miserable hovels, Mustapha Beg, the Collector of the province, compels the farmers to lodge and provide for travellers, and pockets the allowance granted by Government for this purpose. As the farmers dare not disobey his orders, they reluctantly receive strangers into their houses, but give them very poor accommodations, and worse food, to which

they frequently add abusive language. The horses supplied by them are also miserable starved brutes, and not of the genuine Arab breed. Before I quitted Karutapa, I insisted upon seeing this worthy Collector, (may the curse of God light on him!) and abused him for his meanness. He was excessively angry; and said I ought to be ashamed to complain of the badness of food which was given to me gratis. I replied, "I do not complain on my own "account, but for the sake of future tra- "vellers; and it is you who ought to be "ashamed, to deprive the people of the "post-houses of their livelihood, by appro- "priating to yourself the allowance granted "by Government, and obliging the farmers, "either to ruin themselves, or to act in a "rude and inhospitable manner to strangers."

The 29th I travelled thirty-six miles,

and halted at Dilabass. As it rained the whole of this day, I put up at the post-house, which was a miserable place; but the people were civil, and worthy of a better Governor.

The 30th I travelled forty-eight miles, and passed the night at Dokhelah, a poor village; and on the 1st of Shual (27th of January 1803) entered Bagdad. This stage is reckoned only thirty-two miles, but, in my opinion, it is at least forty. However, as my horses were very bad during these last four stages, and could scarcely carry me, and as it rained most of the time, I possibly thought the road longer than it really is.

Between Dokhelah and Bagdad the country is an open plain; not a house, nor even a tree to be seen; and the roads very bad.

Although I had six horses with me, two for riding, and four for my luggage, they were all so completely tired, that I was obliged to walk the last eight miles, with the wind, accompanied by rain, blowing in my face. All these circumstances contributed to render this day's journey the most fatiguing and disagreeable I had ever experienced. Fortunately, close to the gate of the suburbs there was a post-house, at which I changed my horses, and then proceeded to the house of Mr. Jones, the English Consul.

It is very extraordinary, that in the neighbourhood of so large a city as Bagdad, the road for forty miles should be without the least accommodation for a traveller. And I am convinced, had I attempted this journey at night, and lost my way, I should have sunk in the mire, and have perished

of cold. A year seldom passes that some unfortunate travellers do not fall a sacrifice to this inhospitable track, which neither furnishes shelter to man or beast in the winter, nor a drop of water in the summer. In short, the journey from Constantinople to Bagdad is such, that none but a person in good health and vigour should attempt it.

This route was formerly well known to the Romans, but has been seldom travelled by Europeans for some centuries. The distance is estimated at 475 fersukhs, being 950 coss of Hindoostan, equal to 1900 English miles. There are fifty post-houses or stages on the road: and the caravans, at the most favourable season of the year, do not perform it in less than three months. I was fifty-six days on the road, fifteen of which I halted, but it has been rode by an active *courier* in twelve days; and, had

I not met with impediments, I think I could have performed the journey in five or six weeks.

N.B. The whole of this route may be easily traced in any correct Map of Turkey in Asia.

CHAP. XXXII.

Description of the city of Bagdad—inferior to the cities of India. The Author's object in taking this route. Account of the Mausoleum of Kazemine—its peculiar privileges—Oppressive conduct of the Turks—Description of the Tombs of Mohy Addeen and Abdal Cader. The Author sets out for Samerah—Account of his journey. Anecdote of the Khalif Moatisim. Description of the Mausoleum of Samerah. Author returns to Bagdad.

BAGDAD is situated on the banks of the Tigris, and consists of two towns, one on each side the river, which are distinguished by the names of the New and Old Town. The former is on the eastern side, and contains the residence of the Pasha, and of all the principal officers: the latter is in

the *Jezireh* (island), on the western side of the river, and contains very few good houses: and between the two there is a good stone bridge. Both towns are fortified, and have each a very deep and wide ditch; the bottom of which, during peace, is cultivated, but, in case of any alarm, can easily be filled with water from the river. This city is about eight miles in circumference. The fortifications of the New Town were built by Sultan Oubus Keran, commonly called Sultan Saujy. Those of the Old Town were constructed by order of the late Soleyman Pasha, as a defence against the Vahabies.

Bagdad, being situated on the skirts of the Desert and in an extensive plain, when viewed from the exterior, has a very grand appearance; but in the interior it is a dirty filthy town, especially the Old Town, which, during the winter, is fully as bad as Moor-

shedabad, or any other city in Bengal. Although the principal bazar is built of brick and mortar, and has an arched roof, it is, nevertheless, a confined, dark, and stinking place.

The houses of the principal people are constructed with bricks and mud; the walls of which are not stronger than those of India. The wood-work and the ornaments of the rooms are, however, much inferior, and give the whole of the building a mean appearance. In short, the palace of the Pasha, and the best buildings in this city, are not equal to the houses of the middling classes of people in Lucknow; much less to be compared with the palaces of the Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh, or of his late Minister, Hussen Reza Khan.

The fame of the cities of Bagdad, Bus-

sora, Nejif, and other places of Persia, with which Hindoostan resounds, is like the sound of a drum, which is thought best at a distance: for I declare, that from my quitting Constantinople till I arrived at Bussora, I never saw a house that a person of moderate fortune in Lucknow would have considered respectable, or could live comfortably in, except that of Aga Jafeir at Kerbela; and even that was only calculated for a small family.

Bagdad abounds with coffee-houses, and rooms for smoking tobacco; but they are even darker and dirtier than those of Constantinople. The markets are well supplied; and the pomegranates, lemons, and *Aloo Bokhara* (dried plums), are the best I have ever eaten.

As the principal object of my taking

this route was to worship at the shrines of the Martyrs and Saints of our religion (Shyâ Mohammedans), and to visit the tombs of some of my pious ancestors, descendants of the Prophet, I devoted the greater part of the time I remained at Bagdad to this sacred duty.

The most celebrated of these shrines is that of the seventh and ninth *Imams* (pontiffs), both of whom were surnamed Kazem; on which account the mausoleum, as well as the village, is called Kazemine. It is situated in the Jezireh*, four miles to the north-west of Bagdad, and contains better houses than those of the city. It is chiefly inhabited by strangers from Persia and India, and is surrounded by a mud rampart. As the intercourse between the city and the mausoleum is very great,

* Mesopotamia.

hundreds of asses and mules, ready saddled, are always standing on the western side of the bridge, and may be hired for five halfpence; and when the rider arrives at the gate of Kazemine, he finds a person ready to take charge of the animal.

The dome of this mausoleum, as also that of Kerbela, was some years ago rebuilt, and covered with *golden tiles*, at the expence of Mohammed Khan Kejar, king of Persia. The court-yard, walls, gates, and bazar, have also lately been rebuilt and ornamented, at the expence of the late Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh, Vizier of Hindoostan.

This bazar is not very extensive, but in cleanness and beauty it stands unequalled; and the mausoleum, although not equal to that of Kerbela and Nejif, is still very extensive, and magnificent. The cupola,

being covered with gold, may be seen, when the sun shines on it, at the distance of five fersukhs; and the inside of the mausoleum is lined with *painted tiles*. These tiles are very beautiful, and are an invention peculiar to this part of the world, and have not yet been introduced either into Europe or India; at least I have never met with them, but think them superior either to painting or gilding. On these tiles are pourtrayed flowers, and other various devices; also pieces of beautiful writing, in the Nastalik, Niskh, and Togray characters; and, in short, every thing that the pencil of the limner can delineate. They are also so nicely joined, as to appear one perfect piece, and are never affected by the weather.

In the court-yard there is a second dome, under which are buried two of the children of the Imams, at whose tombs it is also customary to offer up prayers.

This mausoleum is under the charge of a superintendant, and several servants of different degrees in rank; and notwithstanding it is so near Bagdad, Turkish bigotry is excluded from its walls, and the pious Shya may pray here according to his own fashion. The fact is, that at this shrine, and in the vicinity of Samerah, Nejif, and Kerbela, there are so many Shyas settled, that the Turks, who are Soonies, and everywhere else abuse and spit on the Shyas, dare not, at these places, make use of any abusive language.

The reason assigned for this toleration is, the vicinity of the Persian Monarch, who might take revenge for any insult offered to persons of his own faith. But the real fact is, that the number of pilgrims who visit these sacred places bring a great quantity of money into the country, and yield a

considerable revenue to the State: the Princes of Hindoostany, and the Kings of Persia, also, often send valuable presents to these shrines: so that it is to Turkish avarice we are indebted for the freedom here enjoyed.

The Turks, so far from paying any respect to these holy places, frequently pillage and oppress the poor pilgrims, and throw every obstacle in their way. For instance, some years ago there was a ferry over a very narrow part of the Tigris, opposite to a considerable village, the inhabitants of which thought proper to complain to the Pasha of Bagdad that they suffered much inconvenience from the great concourse of pilgrims who came that road, and requested the boats might be stationed at some other place. The Pasha, blinded by bigotry, listened to this unreasonable complaint, and

stationed the ferry-boats at the very broadest part of the river, and at a place where there was not any accommodation within eight miles for the poor travellers: in consequence of which, the boats can only make one passage in a day, and the pilgrims are obliged to wait on the sands for many hours, and sometimes days, before they can cross the river. Pious Shyas have, at various times, built caravanserais on this road, for the accommodation of the pilgrims; but the Turks, by their oppressions, have driven away all the shopkeepers and tradesmen who used to attend them, so that the buildings are of very little use.

I know not whether it is owing to the oppression of the Turks, or to the neglect of the superintendant, but none of these shrines are properly lighted at night. Those of Kazemine, Nejif, and Kerbela, have a

few glimmering lamps; but at Samerah the doors are locked at sun-set, by which the devotees are prevented from going to the mosque, to say their prayers at the stated hours. On beholding this state of things, I could not help shedding tears; and was mortified to think that the tomb of one of our spiritual guides is not supported with half the splendour that is constantly exhibited at the mausoleums of the *pseudo* Saints of Hindoostan, Musaoud Ghazy of Gorruckpore, and Shah Mudar of Canouge.

In the vicinity of Kazemine is situated the tomb of Abu Hanifa, commonly called the Imam Aazem (Superior Pontiff), the dome of which is covered with painted tiles, but it has scarcely any gilding about it.

The mausoleum of Abd al Cader Jilany, one of the most celebrated Soofies (mystics),

is situated in the middle of Bagdad, and has several rich estates appertaining to it, the income from which enables the superintendant to live in a handsome style, and to support a number of dependants. There were not less than one or two thousand pilgrims and students, principally from India, residing within the inclosure, while I was there, who daily received an allowance of food from the funds of the shrine. The superintendant, who is dignified by the title of Shaikh al Mushaikh (Chief Prelate), having heard of my arrival, invited me to take coffee with him. I accordingly waited on him; but, as I found him a *great bear*, I made my visit very short.

In the middle of the city is also situated the tomb of Shaikh Shahab Addeen Sheherverdy. It is built in the centre of a delightful garden, and has a mosque and several other buildings dependent on it.

On the outside of the city walls there are several handsome mausolea of celebrated personages: the chief of these are, the tombs of Shaikh Ahy Kuzat, and of Zybindeh, the queen of the Khalif Haroun al Rashid. Here is also the Christian Hermitage, celebrated for the miraculous discovery of a fountain or spring by the Khalif Aly*.

Having made the tour of all the sacred places in the city or its precincts, I resolved to make a pilgrimage to the superior shrines of Samerah, Kerbela, and Nejif. In consequence of this determination, I hired horses, and on the 15th of Shual (February 11th, 1803) we crossed the Tigris, and, retracing a considerable part of my three last days' journey from Constantinople, reached Samerah on the fifth day, before sun-set. If I had made inquiries on this subject when I

* See Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 41.

arrived at Karutapa, I might have saved myself much fatigue, as Samerah is only distant from that town twenty-four miles, and might easily have been taken in my route to Bagdad. But, as it was decreed I should have the merit of making a toilsome journey, purposely to worship at this holy place, I passed within a short distance of it without knowing the circumstance, and, in consequence, suffered much fatigue of body and distress of mind on this occasion; for from the moment I left Bagdad till I returned it never ceased raining; and the conductor sent with me by the Pasha of Bagdad, being a bigoted Soony, oppressed and harassed the Shyas wherever we passed: the people of the villages therefore fled whenever we approached, and cursed me for coming near them.

The first night we slept under a tent,

belonging to an Arab Chief, of the tribe of Beni Tumeem, in the vicinity of a hillock denominated the Mound of Nimrod, whence, it is said, that monarch made the mad attempt to climb the heavens.

The second night we reached the town of Dilujil, on the borders of the sacred territory, and took our abode with a Mutusellum (a pretended Mussulman, i.e. a Soony.)

On the third day, during the journey, I paid my respects at the tombs of Ibrahim Malik Ashter (a celebrated General of Aly the son-in-law of Mohammed), and of Mohammed the son of Imam Aly al Hady, who is so much reverenced in this neighbourhood, that the people swear by him. It was therefore late before we reached the Tigris, which, at this season of the year, is

always full, and runs with great rapidity. As it was requisite we should cross the river, we embarked in an old crazy boat, the crew of which appeared quite ignorant of their profession: but as it rained and blew very hard against us, all our attempts to cross were fruitless; and after toiling for an hour, we returned to the shore. We were then obliged to return twelve miles, to the village of Balbud, and with much difficulty procured uncomfortable beds, at the house of a Shaikh of the tribe of Beni Saad.

On the fourth day we returned to the bank of the river, and with much toil and considerable danger effected our passage. We arrived on the opposite shore a little before the setting of the sun, and passed the night in the tent of a wandering Arab Chief. This Shaikh was a great flatterer

and hypocrite; but being indisposed with a violent cold and rheum, he was anxious to benefit by my medical skill, and therefore pressed me to remain some time with him. As I declined his invitation, he contrived to have my mule, and the conductor's horse, stolen during the night, and pretended they had run away. By this scheme, he hoped not only to detain me, but to obtain a reward for the recovery of the animals. I was not a little vexed at this treatment; and told him that his complaint was in the socket of his eye, which could not be cured without a deep incision; and that as I had not any instruments with me, I could render him no assistance. He was at length convinced by my reasoning; and about the middle of the day produced the horse and mule, which we immediately mounted, and proceeded on our journey. Before we had travelled many miles, we came to Naher-

wan, a village celebrated for the victory gained by the Khalif Aly over his enemies the Kharegites. After passing this place, we travelled for some time through broken grounds and ravines, till about three o'clock in the evening, when we reached a ruined caravanserai, situated on a hill called the Serai of Mirza Kujy. This is the second station where the pilgrims perform the prescribed ceremonies. When at the distance of four fersukhs from Samerah, our eyes were illumined by the sight of the holy shrines of the tenth and eleventh Imams, on whom be the peace of God!

A little to the right of Samerah is a considerable hillock, which the people of that district call the *Tul al Mukhaly*. In Arabic, *Tul* signifies a mound, and *Mukhaly* a small bag for holding four or five pounds of corn, such as are used in London to feed

the hackney-coach-horses. There is a tradition, that Moatisim, one of the Abbasy Khalifs, wishing to make a display of his power before Hussein Askerry (the eleventh Imam), ordered his army to be reviewed in this plain; and after the review was over, to commemorate this event, he directed each of the troopers to fill his bag with earth, and to empty it on this spot. Such was the number of his army, that by this means a hillock was shortly raised. After seeing this, the Imam said to the Khalif, "If you will give me leave, I will now shew you my army." He then pointed to a particular quarter; where the Khalif beheld in the air an immense host of men and horses, advancing against him; the former all clothed in armour, and the latter terrific-looking creatures. The Khalif was frightened at this vision, and requested forgiveness. The Imam graciously pardoned him, and assured

him of his forgiveness. It was from this event that Hussein got the title of *Askerry* (the Leader of Armies).

In the evening we entered Samerah, sometimes called *Sermenrai* (Rejoicing the beholder), distant from Bagdad ninety-six miles. It is said, that, during the prosperity of the Khalifs, these two cities were so nearly joined together, that a cock could fly from house to house, the whole distance; and even now there are vestiges of buildings all the way.

Samerah is situated on the western bank of the Tigris: and the direct road to Bagdad would be nearly a straight line; but on account of the plundering Arabs and other impediments, travellers are obliged to make the circuit I have detailed.

In this city is situated the mausoleum of Aly al Hady (the tenth Imam), built by

Ahmed Khan Dunbely. This building is higher and more solid than any of the domes of Kerbela, Nejif, or Kazemine, but is not guilt, nor of so handsome a construction as the mausolea of those places. Within the building there is a large wooden chest, or coffin, which covers the tombs of four saints; viz. Aly Hady; Hussein Askerry; Narjiss Khatun, the mother of Mehedy the twelfth Imam; and a daughter of Aly Hady the tenth Imam. At the distance of a bow-shot from the mausoleum, is the cave whence Imam Mehedy disappeared, whose return is still looked for by all pious Shyas. No alteration has been made in the cave, but a dome has been erected over it.

The day after my arrival, Syed Kheleel, the superintendant of the mausolea, called on me; and although by religion a Soony, he paid me great attention.

The following day, being much annoyed by the crowd of beggars, and the tyranny exercised by my conductor over the Shyas, I resolved to shorten my visit; and as soon as I had performed all the required ceremonies, set out to return to Bagdad. Before we had travelled many miles, it recommenced raining, and never ceased till we arrived in that city. This journey, going and returning, is generally performed in six days; but, owing to the badness of the roads, and the inclemency of the weather, I was twelve days in effecting it.

N. B. Persons desirous of information on the subjects of this and the subsequent Chapter, are referred to any of the following books:

Ockley's History of the Saracens.
Universal History.
Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.
Bibliothéque Orientale.

See the titles, *Mohammed, Ali, Hussein,* &c.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

The Author sets out on a pilgrimage to Kerbela and Nejif—Hospitably entertained at the house of a Syed, and by the Governor of Kerbela—meets with his Aunt. Description of the Mausoleum, and of the town of Kerbela—Account of its capture by the Vahabies—Plundered a second time by the Arabs. History of the Vahabies—Letter of their Chief to the King of Persia.

AFTER resting myself for a week at Bagdad, on the 4th of Zykad (1st of March 1803) I again set out on a pilgrimage for the shrines of Kerbela and Nejif Ashru. On this occasion I did not acquaint the Pasha, lest I should be again annoyed by a Soony conductor. I therefore privately hired some horses and mules from a carrier,

and bargained that he should accompany me. By this contrivance, I performed this journey with great satisfaction to myself; and the people on the route, not being alarmed by the presence of a Turk, paid me the utmost attention.

In the course of my first day's journey, I had the good fortune to fall into company with Mulla Osman, the Judge of Kerbela, who was returning home; and who, although a Soony, was a man of liberal mind, and unbiassed by prejudices. He expressed great happiness at meeting me, and requested I would be his guest during the journey.

On the road from Bagdad to Nejif, there are, at every eight miles, good caravanserais, built of brick and mortar, in the form of forts, which are called *khans*, but few of them are inhabited.

On the first day we travelled forty miles, and passed the night at the khan of Mirza Keejy; and on the second day, about three o'clock, we arrived at Kerbela. I put up at the house of Syed Khemzeh, whose nephew, Syed Ahmed, was well known to me while I resided at Moorshedabad in Bengal, and whom I hoped to have embraced again at Kerbela; but this worthy man had, unfortunately, died a few months before my arrival: his relations were, however, very hospitable and attentive, and assisted me in performing all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. The Governor, Ameen Aga, was also very civil, and invited me twice to dine with him. He also procured me horses and mules to continue my journey to Nejif, the hire of which he wished to pay; but as his doing so would have deprived me of the merit of the pilgrimage, I requested he would excuse my accepting this proof of his friendship.

I had the happiness of meeting at this place with my aunt, Kerbelai Begum, and several of her female servants and slaves, who, in consequence of the misfortunes of our family, and my quitting home, had retired from the world, and come to end their days in the sacred territory. As this meeting was unexpected, it afforded us much mutual gratification. As they had been plundered of all their property by the Vahabies, I assisted them as far as lay in my power.

The mausoleum of Kerbela, and the court-yard, were repaired, not many years ago, at the expence of Mohammed Khan Kejar, king of Persia. The dome is entirely covered with plates of gold, and the inside highly gilt and ornamented; the most celebrated goldsmiths, painters, and engravers, having been sent from Persia for that purpose. The tomb of the Prince of Martyrs (Hussein, son of Aly, and grandson of

Mohammed) is in the centre of the building, and is covered with a steel case, inlaid with gold, highly ornamented; and in the court-yard are the tombs of the seventy-two martyrs who fell with their prince.

At the distance of a quarter of a mile from the mausoleum is a cave, which has been excavated under the spot where the martyrs were murdered. It is from this cave that the holy earth of Kerbela is brought away, and carried to all parts of the world, as a sacred relic.

Near this place is the spot on which the tent of the Imam Zien al Abadeen (son of Hussein) was pitched on the day of the battle; over which a handsome cenotaph has been erected, at the expence of the wife of the late Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh of Lucknow; and in the vicinity the lady had

also commenced building a caravanserai, but was obliged to relinquish the undertaking in consequence of the Nabob's death.

At the distance of eight miles from Kerbela is a magnificent tomb of one of the martyrs, which is generally visited by pilgrims; but, in consequence of the depredations of robbers who assume the dress of Vahabies, it is now neglected, and I durst not approach it.

The town of Kerbela is surrounded by a mud wall, and was formerly the residence of a number of wealthy merchants; but since it was plundered by the Vahabies, it is falling into decay, and has been forsaken by many of its opulent inhabitants. This event occurred only eleven months previous to my arrival, and was effected in the following manner.

On the 18th of the month Zilhige (April 1802), the greater part of the respectable inhabitants of Kerbela having gone to pay their devotions at the shrine of Nejif, 25,000 Vahabies, mounted on Arab horses and swift camels, made a sudden incursion from the Desert, and, being in league with some persons inside the town, shortly made themselves masters of the place*. After having massacred and plundered the inhabitants for many hours, they attempted to break off the gold plates from the mausoleum; but the metal was so strongly riveted, that they could not effect their purpose. They however very much injured the tombs and other parts of the building; and, without any apparent cause of alarm, retreated at sun-set.

* Their signal of attack was: "Kill the Associators! Cut the throats of the Infidels!"

The Governor, Omar Aga, being a bigoted Soony, was suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the Vahabies, and of having been bribed by them. So much is certain, that, on the first alarm, he fled to a neighbouring village, and did not make the smallest opposition. He was, in consequence, tried by Soleyman Pasha, and condemned to death.

During the short time the Vahabies remained in the town, they murdered 5000 persons, and wounded twice that number. They also plundered all the inhabitants, of their gold, silver, and every thing that was valuable.

As this event had so recently occurred, the people could talk of nothing else; and their description of the cruelties practised by these wretches made my hair stand on

end. It however appeared, that the murdered persons acted in a very unmanly manner, and did not attempt to defend themselves, but submitted to be slaughtered, like sheep by the hands of the butcher.

When the Vahabies had retired, the Arabs of the neighbourhood, taking advantage of the general despondency, entered the town, and carried off the copper and other heavy articles, which the Vahabies had not thought worth the carriage. They also murdered many of the inhabitants, and retained possession of the place for two nights and a day.

During my residence at Kerbela, I endeavoured to collect as much information respecting the laws and religion of this new sect, as I could procure: but, as the inhabitants of Kerbela are of an indolent dis-

position, and do not trouble themselves with what does not immediately concern them, my knowledge on this subject is still very limited.

I learned, that the founder of this sect was named *Abd al Vehab* (The servant of the Bestower of all Benefits). He was born in the neighbourhood of Hilla, on the banks of the Euphrates, but brought up, as an adopted son, by a person of some consequence, named Ibrahim, of the tribe of Beni Herb, in the district of Nejid. During his youth he was considered as superior to all his contemporaries, for his ready wit, penetration, and retentive memory. He was also of a very liberal disposition; and whenever he received any money from his patron, he distributed it immediately amongst his inferiors. After having acquired the common principles of educa-

tion, and a little knowledge of the law, he travelled to Ispahan, late the capital of Persia, where he studied, for some time, under the most celebrated masters of that city. He then travelled to Khorassan, and thence to Ghizni; whence he proceeded to Irac; and after sojourning there some time, he returned home. About the year of the Hejira 1171 (A. D. 1757-8), he began to publish his new doctrines. At first, the fundamental principles of his religion were the same as those of the celebrated Imam Abu Hanifa, but in his exposition of the text he differed considerably. After a short time, he drew his neck from the collar of subserviency, and promulgated doctrines entirely new. He accused the whole Mohammedan church of being associators (giving partners to God), infidels, and idolaters. He even accused them of being worse than idolaters: "For these," said he, "in the

" time of any calamity, forsake their idols,
" and address their prayers directly to God;
" but the Mussulmans, in their greatest
" distress, never go beyond Mohammed, or
" Aly, or some of the saints. The com-
" mon people, who worship at the tombs of
" the Prophet and his descendants, and who
" solicit these persons to be their mediators
" with God, are, in fact, guilty of idolatry
" daily: for no nation was ever so stupid as
" to address an image as their God, but
" merely as the representation of one of his
" attributes, or of one of their intercessors
" with the Deity. Thus the Jews and Chris-
" tians, who have pictures and images of
" Moses, and of Jesus Christ, never associate
" them with God, but occasionally address
" their prayers to them, as mediators."

By these arguments he, by degrees, collected a number of followers, and proceeded

to plunder and destroy the tombs and shrines of the Prophet, and of all the saints. By these means he acquired much wealth and fame, and, previous to his death, was possessed of great power and authority.

He was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who, being blind, remains always at home, and has assumed the title of Imam, and Supreme Pontiff of their religion. He employs, as his deputy, a person named Abd al Aziz, who was an adopted brother of his father's, and who is of an immense stature, with a most powerful voice. This man is eighty years of age, but retains all the vigour of youth, and predicts that he shall not die till the Vahaby religion is perfectly established all over Arabia. This person waits on Mohammed twice every week, and consults with him on all points of religion, and receives his orders for detaching armies

to different quarters. Their power and influence is so much increased, that all Arabia may be said to be in subjection to them; and their followers have such reverence for them, that, when going into battle, they solicit passports to the porters at the gates of Paradise, which they suspend round their necks, and then advance against the enemy with the greatest confidence.

Although the Vahabies possess great power, and have collected immense wealth, they still retain the greatest simplicity of manners, and moderation in their desires. They sit down on the ground without ceremony, content themselves with a few dates for their food, and a coarse large cloak serves them for clothing and bed for two or three years. Their horses are of the genuine Nejid breed, of well-known pedigrees; none of which will they permit to be taken

out of the country. The whole of their revenue is expended in the support of this army, which enables them to maintain innumerable forces, the whole of which are ready to undertake any exploit, however distant, either for the sake of extending their religion, or of acquiring plunder.

Except the cities of Muscat, Mecca, and Medineh, the Vahabies are in possession of all Arabia. For many years they refrained from attacking the holy cities: first, on account of their respect for the house of God; and, secondly, from their attachment to the Shereef of Mecca, who professed to be of their religion; and the emoluments derived from the pilgrims who passed through their dominions. But lately, at the instigation of the Turks, Abd al Aziz sent a large army, under the command of his son Saoud, into the sacred territory; who, after burning and

laying waste the country, entered Mecca, and broke down many of the tombs and shrines; after which he proceeded to Jedda, and laid siege to it. The Shereef immediately took refuge on board a ship anchored in the Red Sea; and the people of the town having agreed to pay a large sum of money, the Vahabies proceeded to Oman. Soon after their arrival in that province, they were joined by a brother of the Sultan of Muscat, who embraced the Vahaby religion, and assumed the title of Imam al Mussulmeen (Pontiff of the Mussulmans), and soon compelled all the inhabitants of the open country to follow his example, and embrace the new faith. They have, in consequence, thrown off their allegiance to the Sultan, whose authority is now limited to the city of Muscat and its environs; and Saoud, being convinced that it must fall into his hands some day, does not at present press the matter.

The people of Bussora and of Hilla are in such apprehensions of a visit from the Vahabies, that they cannot pass a night in comfort; and the inhabitants of Nejif and Kerbela, having sent all their valuable property to Kazemine for security, tranquilly smoke their pipes, till the day breaks, and they are assured of safety.

As the depredations of the Vahabies have frequently been carried to within a few miles of Bussora, it is very probable they will shortly render themselves masters of that city. They have lately conquered the tribe of Outub, who are celebrated for their skill in the art of ship-building and of navigation, and have already commenced to form a maritime force. Whenever they have effected this point, they will soon be masters of Bussora; after which they will easily capture Bagdad: and I have no doubt, but that

in a few years they will be at the gates of Constantinople.

The sacrilegious plunder of the holy cities of Mecca and Kerbela, by the Vahabies, ought to have roused the vengeance of the Turkish Emperor and of the King of Persia, and to have induced them to unite their forces for the extirpation of this wicked tribe, whose insolence is now arrived at that pitch, that, not content with the sovereignty of Arabia, they have, in imitation of the Prophet Mohammed, written to both those monarchs, inviting them to embrace their religion. The following is a copy of the letter of their General, or Vicegerent, to the King of Persia.

"We

" We fly unto God
" for refuge against the accursed Satan.

" In the name of God,
" the Compassionate, the Merciful.

" From Abd al Aziz, Chief of the Mussul-
" mans, to Futteh Aly Shah, King of
" Persia.

" SINCE the death of the Prophet Mo-
" hammed, son of Abd' Allah, polytheism
" and idolatry have been promulgated
" amongst his followers. For instance, at
" Nejif and Kerbela, the people fall down
" and worship the tombs and shrines, which
" are made of earth and stone, and address
" their supplications and prayers to the per-
" sons contained therein. As it is evident
" to me, the least of the servants of God,
" that such practices cannot be agreeable to
" our Lords Aly and Hussein, I have used

" every exertion to purify our holy religion " from these vile superstitions, and, by the " blessing of God, have long since eradi- " cated these pollutions from the territory " of Nejid, and the greater part of Arabia; " but the attendants on the mausolea, and " the inhabitants of Nejif, being blinded by " covetousness and worldly interest, encou- " raged the people to a continuation of " these practices, and would not comply " with my exhortations: I therefore sent an " army of the Faithful (as you may have " heard) to punish them, according to their " deserts. If the people of Persia are " addicted to these superstitions, let them " quickly repent; for whosoever is guilty of " idolatry and polytheism, shall in like " manner be punished.

" Peace be to him who obeys this di- " rection!"

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Author continues his pilgrimage to Nejif. Account of the canals of Husseiny and Assuffy. Panegyric on the late Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh. Description of the cities of Hilla and Nejif. Account of the Mausoleum of Aly. Anecdote of an Arab. The Author devotes his mind to religious contemplation—Returns to Bagdad. Reasons why he first went to live with the British Consul—bad consequences thereof. Author disgusted with Mr. Jones's mode of living. Manner of travelling in Irac. Author embarks on the Tigris.

As soon as I had finished all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Kerbela,* I set out for Nejif by the route of Hilla, and arrived

* These places are marked, in some maps, Mejid Hosein, and Mejid Aly, (the Mausolea of Hussein and Aly).

at the latter city the first day, the distance being only sixteen fersukhs. During the course of this day's journey, I crossed two bridges built over canals. The first of these canals, which is called the Niher Husseiny, is only a few miles from Kerbela, and was dug by order of Sultan Murad, one of the Turkish Emperors, to convey water from the Euphrates to Kerbela; which pious work has obtained for him the blessings of the inhabitants of that district. The other is named the Niheri Hindue, or Assuffy, having been cut at the expence of the late Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh of Lucknow: it is much larger than the canal of Husseiny, and is as broad as a tolerable-sized river. The intention of this aqueduct is to convey an ample supply of water from the Euphrates to Nejif, the burial-place of Aly. Ten lacs of rupees (£.125,000) have already been expended; but, owing to the duplicity of

the Pasha of Bagdad, and malversation of the superintendant, who, instead of cutting it in a direct line, have made it wind round by Cufa and other towns, it does not yet approach within four miles of its destination. The work is, however, still carrying on, and, when completed, will convey the waters of the Euphrates into the ancient bed of the river Ny, now dry, which formerly ran under the walls of Nejif, and was nearly as wide as the Tigris; and which, after making a considerable circuit, will again unite with the Euphrates.

This pious work of the Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh has not only given present employment to the poor of that neighbourhood, but will confer permanent comfort on the inhabitants in general, and give fertility to the soil, which has been long parched up, for want of water to irrigate the fields. In

short, if the blessings of millions, and the prayers of the righteous, can benefit the souls of the departed, or can give consolation to the friends of the deceased, no man ever possessed a better claim to them than that Prince. Nor are the people of Irac ungrateful, but daily offer up prayers and supplications for his eternal salvation, and never mention his name but with rapture and enthusiasm.

Hilla is a very ancient and celebrated city, and was for a long time the capital of the Sultans of the tribe of Beni Muzyd, during the Kalifat of the house of Abassy, and is situated on both sides of the river Euphrates. The residence of the Pasha and principal officers is on the western side, next the Desert; but they have numerous gardens and buildings on both sides of the river. The most celebrated of the build-

ings are, the Mosque of the Sun, and the Minar (turret) of Aly. The former is built on the spot where Aly performed his devotions while the Prophet commanded the sun to stop its course. If a person mounts the latter, and says, "In the right of Aly," the turret shakes; but if he repeats, "In the right of Omar," it is perfectly motionless. Of the anecdote respecting the former we have no authentic evidence; but with respect to the latter miracle, I have conversed with persons who declare they have witnessed it, and that they have placed a man on the line of the shadow previous to the operation, and that when the turret began to shake, the shadow moved backward and forward two yards.

I passed the night at Hilla, and early next morning proceeded on my journey. During the course of the day, I visited, on

my route, the tomb of Zu al Kuffel (Master of the Lock), and the well and station of Imam Mehedy, not far distant from the fort of Nejif. The former is situated in the middle of a village, surrounded by a wall, the inhabitants of which are all Jews; and which, next to Jerusalem, is held in the highest respect by all the people of that sect settled in Arabia, numbers of whom come annually on a pilgrimage to it.

The country in the vicinity of Nejif is an open plain. The soil is clay mixed with sand, which produces a fine vegetation, and such a variety of spontaneous flowers and shrubs, that, in my opinion, it stands next to the Cape of Good Hope for fertility and variety of productions.

In the neighbourhood of this city there arises a very strong vapour from the soil,

especially from the dry beds of the rivers, which, at the distance of a hundred paces, has all the appearance of a fine river, and is of that nature which has so often deceived weary and thirsty travellers in the deserts of Arabia and Tartary.

The city of Nejif is surrounded by a rampart, with bastions at the angles, but till very lately had no ditch. At the period that the inhabitants were under great apprehensions of an attack from the Vahabies, the late Nabob Assuf ad Dowleh remitted a large sum of money, to be distributed amongst the poor and pious persons of this city. On the receipt of the remittance, the Governor assembled the poor inhabitants, and proposed, that, instead of expending it in the usual manner, they should apply the amount to digging a good ditch, to defend them against their enemies. This suggestion was

readily complied with, and during my residence at Nejif the work was carrying on.

The mausoleum of Aly (the son-in-law of Mohammed and first of the Imams), with the apartments surrounding the court-yard and the gate, are all of the finest order of architecture. The dome and the turrets, which are covered with golden tiles, were rebuilt by one of the favourites of the Persian usurper, Nadir Shah. The interior of the dome, and the walls of the surrounding houses and gateway, are cased with the painted tiles before described; and in front of the mausoleum, there is an extensive sofa or platform of white marble, for the pilgrims to rest on. The doors of the mausoleum, the tomb, and small cupola over it, are all of solid silver; and although great part of the precious articles belonging to this shrine have been sent to Kazemine for

security, yet there are many rich carpets, silver lamps, sconces, and other valuable furniture, remaining.

After worshipping at the tomb of Imam Aly, the devotees are instructed to turn their faces to one of the corners of the building, and repeat a prayer for Imam Hussein, whose head, they say, was brought from Syria by his son Zein al Abadeen, and buried in that spot. After this ceremony, they go to the foot of the tomb, and make two prostrations, one for Adam, and the other for Noah, both of whom, the attendants on the shrine affirm, were buried in this place.

On the outside of the mausoleum, near the door, and under the path-way, are deposited the remains of Shah Abbass, of Persia: and on the other side of the building, adjacent to the platform on which prayers are

said, is a small apartment, in which is the tomb of Mohammed Khan Kejar, late king of Persia, formed of a single block of white marble, on which they constantly burn the wood of aloes, and every night light up camphire tapers in silver candlesticks; and, during both the day and night, several devout persons are perpetually employed in chanting the Koran. All this pomp and state at the tomb of Mohammed Khan is highly improper in the vicinity of the holy shrine, and can only be attributed to the ignorance and rusticity of his descendants.

Upon entering the holy shrine, I was so impressed with religious awe, that, although supported by four of the attendants, I trembled like an aspen leaf, and it was with the utmost difficulty I could perform the prescribed ceremonies. During this time, a Bedouin (Arab of the Desert), with a

white beard descending to his middle, which seemed as if it had never been disturbed by a comb, his body covered by a coarse and dirty shirt, and, in place of trowsers, a piece of cloth girt about his loins; his heels, from much walking, as hard as the hoof of a horse, and full of cracks; and who, in short, appeared as if just arrived from a long and toilsome journey, entered the sanctuary. He took no notice of the attendants, but immediately began to walk round the tomb; and instead of repeating the prescribed prayers, he called aloud: "Ya Abul Hussein (O Father of Hussein), peace be to you!" and, notwithstanding his apparent want of respect and decorum, he was so much affected by his faith and sincerity, that the tears trickled from his eyes. Seeing him treat the illustrious sepulchre with so little ceremony, I at first supposed that Abul Hussein was one of his companions or inti-

mate friends, who had fallen asleep in the mausoleum, and that he was endeavouring to awake him; but after observing him attentively, and reflecting on his sincerity and purity of heart, and on my own unworthiness, I was convinced his vows were more deserving of acceptance than mine, and envied him his zeal and happiness.

At a little distance from the great mausoleum, there are two cenotaphs erected to the memory of Zein al Abadeen (son of Hussein), and Suffeh Suffa: but as the army of Mousul, which had lately arrived for the defence of Nejif against the Vahabies, was encamped in their vicinity, the brutish Turks had defiled those sacred places with all kinds of impurity.

The hereditary superintendant of the mausoleum, who was also Governor of Nejif,

was named Moola Mahmood. He was a respectable, learned, and religious man, and, in consequence of a recommendation from the Pasha of Bagdad, behaved to me with the utmost attention. He allotted me an apartment in the court-yard of the mausoleum, and sent servants to wait on me: he also invited me to live with him during my stay; and as he kept both Persian and Hindoostany servants, his table was better supplied, and served with more elegance, than I ever before experienced among the Turks. Although a Soony, he regularly said his prayers in the mosque of the mausoleum; and as he understood Persian perfectly, I had much pleasure in his conversation.

Ever since quitting Constantinople, I had given up my mind much to religious contemplation; and during the journey I com-

posed two elegies in praise of Hussein and Aly. Whilst at Bagdad, I had them beautifully transcribed, on gold paper, and suspended them near the tombs of those illustrious saints, at Kerbela and Nejif. These elegies were much approved by both the superintendants; and they promised me to take care they were not removed, but that they should be preserved, as a testimony of my zeal.

After having performed all the prescribed ceremonies at the shrines of Nejif, I set out upon my return to Bagdad; but as parties of the Vahabies were patroling the country, I found it requisite to return by the route I came, although there is a more direct road.

Between Nejif and Hilla I offered up my devotions at the Mosque of Cufa and the

Dome of the Camel. To persons acquainted with Mohammedan history, Cufa is too well known to require any description of it here. The Dome of the Camel was built to commemorate the event of a hill bending forward to salute the camel which bore the corpse of Aly, and which still remains in that position. The first night I slept at Hilla, the second at Kerbela, and on the third day returned safe to Bagdad.

Having thus narrated my adventures and toils in pursuit of my spiritual welfare, I shall now return to my temporal concerns. When I was about to take leave of Mohammed Pasha, the Governor of Mousul, whose kindness I shall ever gratefully remember, he put into my hands a letter of recommendation, addressed to Aly Pasha, the Governor of Bagdad; and gave me strict injunctions, that, on my arrival at that

city, I should immediately proceed to the house of the Pasha. He added, "You "have already in your possession the Em- "peror's passport, or order, directed to the "Pasha; that, in all probability, will in- "sure your receiving from him every mark "of public attention; but this letter will "procure for you his private friendship, by "the aid of which you will be expeditiously "and safely conveyed to Bussora, whence, "assisted by his interest, you will find no "difficulty in obtaining a passage in one "of the Arab ships to Bombay."

I promised the Pasha that I would punctually comply with his directions, and left Mousul with that determination; but, during the journey, when I reflected on the uncomfortable mode of living of the Turks, and the filth of the Pashas' houses, and called to mind the hospitable reception

I had always experienced from the English, and the superior comforts of their dwellings, I felt more inclined to take up my residence with Mr. Jones, the British Consul, than to trouble the Pasha. When I entered Bagdad, it was late in the day, I was dreadfully tired, and all my clothes completely drenched in rain. I therefore preferred present ease and comfort to the prospect of future advantages, and directed my guide to take me to the house of Mr. Jones.

This conduct of mine gave great offence to Aly Pasha, who, having been apprised of my approach, had prepared a house for my reception, had hired a Hindoostany interpreter to attend me, and was in hourly expectation of my arrival. All the other Mohammedan officers, to several of whom I had recommendations, also took offence at my preferring the society of a Christian

to theirs. In consequence of this false step, when I sent the Emperor's order to the Pasha by Mr. Jones, he declined seeing me for some days, under pretence that he was busily employed in fitting out an army to send against the Kurds: and when I visited him, he kept me waiting two hours in a tent, before he granted me an audience; and then received me with much formality, but with little respect. This, I was afterwards informed, was all owing to my connexion with Mr. Jones, with whom he was on bad terms.

Although the Pasha thus declined giving me any proofs of his private friendship, he was under the necessity of complying with the Imperial orders; and, in consequence, supplied me with passports, letters, and conductors to the superintendants of the sacred places, as I have already described.

The only persons who would visit me at the house of Mr. Jones, were, Hajy Hussein, and three other merchants of Ispahan. But as these gentlemen had long resided at Bagdad, they had forgotten their Persian manners, without having acquired the Turkish ones: they were therefore like the crow in the fable, who in vain attempted to learn the gait of the partridge, and forgot his own. They were, consequently, very stupid companions; but, as I was sensible I owed all the neglect I experienced to my own imprudence, I did not vent a complaint or murmur on the subject.

I should have borne this neglect of the Mohammedans with more stoicism, had I not been grievously disappointed in the expectations I had formed of the comforts of Mr. Jones's house. But that gentleman, either owing to his long residence among

the Turks, or want of regularity in his domestic economy, did not take any pains to keep his house clean, or in good order. Some days he breakfasted at nine, and other days at twelve: his hour of dinner was equally irregular, and his provisions consequently badly dressed. The conversation at his table was always dull and insipid, and never enlivened by wit or gaiety; and symptoms of disgust and aversion to his guests, whether Asiatics or Europeans, were evident on his countenance. He was also of a jealous disposition, and would not allow me to accept of any assistance from the Turkish officers; saying, that as I had placed myself under his protection, he would not permit any other interference. But, as he was too great a personage to attend to my business himself, he committed me and my affairs to his steward, an Armenian of Ispahan, who was an arrant

scoundrel, and in consequence of whose contrivance I suffered the greatest distress, and had nearly lost my life.

The general mode of travelling from Bagdad to Bussora is by water, especially in the rainy season, when the Tigris being full, the current runs with great rapidity. It was therefore my intention to have joined with one or two respectable persons, who might be travelling that way, to hire a comfortable boat, fitted up with apartments, which could have been done at a moderate expence, and to have proceeded at my leisure. But on the day that I returned from Nejif, the Armenian informed me that a fine large boat, loaded with goods belonging to the East-India Company, under charge of a guard commanded by one of Mr. Jones's conductors, would depart for Bussora in a few hours, and that I had better

embrace that opportunity of proceeding, free of expence, and well secured against the dangers of the voyage.

As I concluded that the boat was properly fitted up, I consented to go, without taking the precaution of first inspecting it, and desired him to send my luggage on board. When I arrived at the bank of the river, I found a large flat-bottomed, dirty, and old boat, loaded with chests, without any roof, and manned with a savage-looking crew; in short, just such a boat as is used to convey wood from the Sunderbunds (forests) to Calcutta. At the sight of such a conveyance, I drew back, and was about to return to the house; but when I reflected on the whole of Mr. Jones's conduct, and the aukward predicament in which I was placed at Bagdad, I resolved to brave all the hardships I might suffer, and jumped

on board. The period of my residence in Bagdad, and excursions to the sacred places, was forty-four days.

I had nearly forgotten to mention, that, soon after my arrival at Bagdad, Hajy Aly, my Mehmandar, demanded from me a certificate of his good conduct: and when I refused to give him one, he got Mr. Jones's Armenian to speak in his favour to his master, who had the weakness to solicit I would forgive the wretch, and grant him the certificate: but, as I thought my doing so would be an injustice to future travellers, I positively refused.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Author quits Bagdad—Arrives at Sook al Shyukh — description of that village. The Author taken ill of a fever—Arrives at Mâkul, or Markile, the English factory at Bussora—obliged to proceed to the city. Character of the inhabitants of Bussora—Description of that city—Character of the Governor. Author invited to the house of Mr. Manesty: His opinion of that gentleman. The Author disappointed of a passage to Bombay, and detained at Bussora. Extraordinary occurrence in that city—Conduct of Mr. Manesty on this occasion. The Author regrets his long detention at Bussora. He embarks on board the grab Shannon.

I QUITTED Bagdad on the evening of the 16th Zykad (10th March); and as the

boatmen rowed night and day, we arrived on the 20th at Sook al Shyukh (the market of the Shaikh), the distance to which is calculated to be about 150 miles, and half-way to Bussora.

This place is the principal residence of the Arab tribe of Muntefakh, who inhabit the Desert between the two cities. It is a tolerable good market, and yields all the necessaries of life. The Chief of this tribe is named Shaikh Anfiteleh: he is a person of great consequence, and can collect an army of forty or fifty thousand men, principally cavalry. For many years he gave great annoyance to the Government of Bussora; but he is now considered as the defender of that city against the Vahabies. The market is surrounded by a rampart constructed of mud; but its principal defence is its low situation on the banks of

the Tigris, by cutting away a small portion of which, they can, at the approach of an enemy, inundate the country for many miles around. Thus, when the Persians, under the command of Kerim Khan, not long ago captured Bussora, they sent an army to take this place. The Arabs allowed them to approach near the town; and during the night, having cut the embankment, the Persians were surrounded by water before they were aware of their danger. The Shaikh then advanced against them, and killed Aly Murdan Khan, their General, and the greater part of his army.

During this voyage down the Tigris, I lived very abstemiously: but as I had nothing to shade me from the heat of the sun during the day, or to shelter me from the rain or dew during the night, I was on the fourth day attacked with a violent fever,

which confined me to my bed for nearly a month after my arrival at Bussora.

On the 22d we arrived at the town of Korna; under the walls of which the rivers Tigris and Euphrates unite, and form a very broad stream, nearly twice the size of the Ganges, which is then named Shat al Arab (the Arabian River), and continues its course till it falls into the Persian Gulf.

On the 23d, which was the seventh day of this disagreeable and tedious journey, we arrived at Mâkul, pronounced by Europeans Markile, two fersukhs distant from Bussora. Here the English East-India Company have a small Factory, in which the Consul resides. The house is surrounded by a mud wall, and is therefore called Kote Frengy (The European Fort); *Kote* signifying, in Arabic, A small fort.

The sight of this place afforded me much pleasure; as I had no doubt, from the general character of Mr. Manesty, the Resident, that I should meet with a hospitable reception, and quickly recover from my disease, which by this time had very much reduced both my strength and spirits.

Unluckily for me, a short time previous to my arrival at Bussora, some persons, to answer a particular purpose, the nature of which it might be deemed invidious to relate, had invented a story, that symptoms of the plague had made their appearance at Bagdad; in consequence of which, Mr. Manesty, who is of a timid disposition, and very careful of himself, would not permit any person arriving from Bagdad to enter the Factory; but when informed of my arrival, he came to the river side, and, saluting me at a distance, requested I would

proceed to Bussora, where he had provided a house for my reception.

Knowing the falsity of the report, and the authors and motives of the contrivance, I was hurt at his conduct; but, in compliance with his desire, I proceeded to the city, and found apartments prepared for me at the house of Aga Mohammed Abdal Nubby, a merchant of Bussora, and a particular friend of Mr. Manesty's, whom the Persian Monarch had lately summoned to his court, to dignify with the rank of Ambassador to the Governor-General of India, in the room of Hajy Kheleel Khan, who was killed accidentally by the soldiers of his guard at Bombay, and whose body was sent, at the expence of the East-India Company, to be buried with much state and public mourning at the holy shrine of Nejif*.

* See Asiatic Annual Register, A. D. 1803. Bombay Occurrences for November.

The house was under charge of a tall one-eyed man, whose proper name was Fiez Aly, but to whom the people of Bussora had given the nick-name of Hajy Ferzeen (the Queen of Chess), from his impudence and interfering disposition. This fellow was very neglectful and inattentive to my wishes; which conduct, at a time when I was very unwell, quite depressed my spirits, and made me very anxious to quit Bussora. Often did I regret that I had not remained in England; and the only consolation I had during my confinement, was calling to mind the many happy days I had passed there, and thinking of the many friends I had quitted, perhaps for ever.

Bussora is inhabited by a number of Persians of good family, who have been obliged to fly their country, in consequence of the various revolutions which have long

desolated that kingdom. Many of them visited me, and invited me to their houses. I found them, in general, agreeable men, and much superior to the natives of Bussora, the majority of whom are low minded, and of avaricious dispositions, though so very punctual in all their commercial dealings that they never require bonds from each other. They are all perfectly convinced of the reality of the Philosopher's Stone; and frequently questioned me, whether I had not learned the art of making the Elixir during my residence in Europe.

Bussora is a much larger city than Bagdad, and is the resort of merchants from all parts of the East. It is well fortified by a good rampart, and a deep ditch, which is filled from the river. Within the fort there are several groves of date-trees, extensive gardens, and some vineyards; which are well

watered by a canal cut from the river that runs through the town. The buildings are, in general, formed of mud, and very irregular in their construction; they are, in fact, little better than huts. As the climate is very hot, and the town surrounded by marshes, it must be a very unhealthy place. During the four months of the rainy season, the river often overflows its banks, and inundates the country; and the Arabs frequently cut deep trenches in the bank, to let the water run into the Desert: the consequence is, that when the river falls, many pools of stagnant water remain, the exhalations from which are very pestiferous; and if the disease generated by these causes is not the plague, it is something nearly as bad. The Arabs call this season of the year *Maa al Mouj* (The overflowing of the waters), which the English translate 'The waters of death.'

The inhabitants of Bussora were formerly so much annoyed by the Wandering Arabs, that they entered into an engagement with the tribe of Munafekh, to pay them half the produce of their fields, to defend them against the other tribes; but, notwithstanding this agreement, the wild Arabs frequently approach the city during the night, and plunder every thing they can find.

In order to protect the farms and country-houses, the Governor, Abdullah Aga, has lately built a wall towards the Desert, sixteen fersukhs in length, which encompasses a number of the estates and farms, and has placed guards at all the gates. This worthy man has used all his exertions to render the people under his charge happy and contented; and has so well succeeded, that all the inhabitants of Bussora are lavish in his praise.

At the distance of eight miles from Bussora are the tombs of Taleha and Zobeir (two of the companions of Mohammed); but as parties of the Vahabies and Wandering Arabs were patroling in the vicinity of the town, I durst not visit them.

At the termination of twelve days, the Consul being convinced that I was not infected with the plague, did me the honour to invite me to his house. For this mark of his attention I was indebted to a letter of recommendation from Lord Pelham, and to the orders of the Court of Directors, desiring Mr. Manesty to give me every assistance in his power. As I was very much hurt at his conduct, the only request I made of him was, to procure me a passage in the first ship that should sail for Bombay; and even in this he disappointed me.

This gentleman, being the representative of the East-India Company at Bussora, is considered by the inhabitants of that city as a person of great consequence; they therefore never address him but in an adulatory and flattering manner: he is, on this account, puffed up with pride and vanity, and could not bear my plain and blunt *English* style, which he considered as bordering on insolence: he was therefore resolved to humiliate me, and to make me sensible of his importance.

One part of the Consul's employment is, to forward the overland packets and despatches from and to India, for which purpose he is allowed to charge a considerable sum of money. For some years he either contracted with the mercantile Arabs of the tribe of Outub, to convey the despatches in their vessels, called *grabs*, to Bombay, or

sent them by any English ship that chanced to be at Bussora when the packet arrived: but being a man of a speculative turn of mind, he discovered that it would be more advantageous to have small vessels of his own, which he might freight with the merchants' goods, and at the same time convey the despatches without any additional expence. He therefore built or purchased six or eight of these vessels, which now nearly monopolize all the traffic of Bussora. The masters and crews of them are all his private servants, and of course must be obedient to his orders.

Some days after I had been at Mr. Manesty's house, he informed me that a ship was about to sail for Bombay; but that I must myself settle with the master for my passage, as it was a perquisite of office with which he did not interfere. I immediately

went to the master, who demanded five hundred rupees (£.62. 10*s.*) for my conveyance. I thought this an exorbitant sum; and being much more than was paid by the inhabitants of Bussora, I concluded he was imposing on me. I therefore refused to give it, and returned to the Consul, who, having heard my story, said he could not interfere.

The following day I went again to the master, and offered him three hundred rupees (£.37. 10*s.*), which he agreed to take, but said I must embark immediately, as the wind was fair, and he was just going to weigh anchor. I told him my heavy baggage was at Bussora, but that, if he would wait an hour or two, I would bring it on board: he refused, alleging, that in two hours the wind might change, and perhaps detain him for ten days longer in the river. I thereby lost this opportunity.

A few days afterwards Mr. Manesty despatched another vessel, without giving me any intelligence of her departure; and when I reproached him with this procedure, he replied, "You wish to see the beauties and "curiosities of Bombay, and that ship is "gone to Bengal." A third ship was sent off, and still there was some idle excuse for not granting me a passage. I was therefore much irritated, and told him he had resided so long in the East, that he had entirely forgotten all his English principles: I also wrote a satirical poem on him, and occasionally repeated some of the lines in his hearing. He replied, that I had been spoiled by the luxuries and attention of the people in London, and that it was now impossible to please me. These altercations and bickerings were however carried on in apparent good humour, or half joke, half earnest. In every other respect I passed my time plea-

santly at his house, as he was very hospitable, and our society was enlivened by the presence of Capt. Spens and Doctor Mills.

During my residence at Bussora, an event occurred which caused much confusion at the time, and it was apprehended might be attended with serious consequences. A Captain White, master of one of the Consul's ships, who rented a house in the city, kept an Armenian woman. One day a poor Arab was passing his door, and found a letter, written in Arabic, lying on the ground, the contents of which were as follow:

" People of Bussora, I demand your pro-
" tection. I am a Mussulman, born in
" Egypt, and, during the invasion of that
" country by the French, fell into the hands
" of this Christian, whom I abominate:
" therefore, I pray you, deliver me from him."

The Arab immediately carried this letter to the tribunal of justice, and swore that the letter was thrown to him from the top of Captain White's house. Other witnesses also appeared, and declared that they had frequently been in Captain White's house, and heard the woman declare all these circumstances. On this evidence, the Cazy was under the necessity of sending an officer to summon the woman to his tribunal. The circumstance was so novel, that a great crowd assembled, and a number of the mob accompanied the officer. The Captain refused to deliver up the woman, and, having barred his doors, sent intelligence of his situation to the Consul. As that gentleman, in consequence of his wealth and public station, possesses great influence with all the Turkish officers, he sent a messenger to the Governor, requesting he would postpone the trial till next day, when he himself would

attend the tribunal; and if the woman was a Mussulman, or wished to become one, he would order her to be delivered up. The Governor immediately complied with this request, and sent some soldiers to disperse the mob.

It happened, that the master of another ship, which was taking in freight for Bombay, lived in the same house with Captain White, and, being alarmed at what was transacting, began to send some treasure and other valuable articles on board the ship: in consequence of which a report was quickly circulated, that the oppressed Mussulman female had been sent on board the ship, and would be shortly out of the reach of justice.

The mob re-assembled, and, having forced their way into Captain White's house, took hold of the woman, and led her to the

tribunal. When questioned by the Cazy, the woman declared that the whole story was a gross falsehood; that she and all her family were Christians; and that she had not the smallest inclination to change her faith, or to leave her master. On hearing this declaration, a number of witnesses stepped forward, and swore that she was guilty of falsehood, for that they had heard her repeat the Mohammedan Creed. The Cazy was much astonished at this business; and said to the woman, "By the evidence of these "Mussulmans, you are proved to have "once belonged to our faith; and, by de- "nying it, you acknowledge that you are "now a renegado. By so doing, you are "liable to the punishment of death: and if, "in three days, you do not abjure your "heresy, I must pass the sentence of the "law on you." He then ordered her to be carried to the Moofty's house, and confined in the Haram (female apartments).

The second night the woman found an opportunity to escape, and proceeded towards the English Factory. She was however re-taken, and brought back. Next morning, being again brought before the Cazy, he gave her the option, to abjure Christianity and marry a Mohammedan, or suffer death. The poor woman, not being prepared to die, consented to become a Mussulman. A subscription of a thousand kurush was immediately collected for her dower, and she was next day married to one of the soldiers, who carried her home in triumph.

This circumstance hurt the feelings and pride of the Consul, who sent a message to the Governor, that, as the woman was beyond all doubt a Christian, and under his protection, if she was not immediately returned to him, all friendship must cease

between them, and he might have cause to repent his conduct. He at the same time ordered the gates of the Factory to be shut, and no person from Bussora to be allowed to enter them.

The Governor expressed his regret on the occasion, and laid the blame on the mob, whose actions he could not controul: but as the woman was now married to a Mohammedan, and had embraced the Mussulman religion, he could not possibly reverse the sentence of the law.

As Mr. Manesty's pride and overbearing conduct had given offence to many of the principal inhabitants of Bussora, of which they related numerous instances to me, it was generally supposed that the whole of this business was a scheme, laid by some of his enemies, to mortify him. If such was

really the case, they had, in the sequel, reason to repent their conduct.

The business was not settled when I left Bussora; but I have since learned, that Mr. Manesty, having first appealed to the Pasha of Bagdad, and afterwards to Constantinople, had not only procured the sentence of the Cazy to be reversed, but had him turned out of office. The Governor was also severely censured, and several of the leaders of the riot banished. I have since seen the woman in Calcutta, who corroborated all I had heard. This circumstance shews, that the English possess nearly as much power in Bussora as they have in India, and ought to render people cautious how they interfere or quarrel with them.

Had I been aware, when I first entered Bussora, that I should have been delayed

there so long, I would have proceeded by land to Suster, and thence to Shiraz, whence I could have travelled to one of the Persian ports, and there embarked for Bombay; by which means I might, without a greater loss of time, have travelled through a country I was very anxious to see, and escaped from the pride and tyranny of Mr. Manesty.

At length, after remaining fifty-five days at Bussora, I procured a passage in one of the Consul's grabs, named the Shannon, and embarked, on the evening of the 19th Mohurrem 1218, (May 10th, 1803).

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Author sails from Bussora—Account of his voyage, and description of the Persian Gulf—Enters the Sea of Oman, and the Indian Ocean—Arrives at Bombay—Hospitably received by the Governor. Description of Bombay. Account of the Parsees, and other native inhabitants. Description of the Fort. Account of the Mohammedan inhabitants. Marked attention of the Governor to the Author, who procures him a passage on board the Bombay frigate. The Author embarks for Bengal. The ship arrives in Balasore roads—anchors in the Ganges. Author proceeds to Calcutta.

IMMEDIATELY on my going on board, we weighed anchor; and, as the wind was strong and favourable, by twelve o'clock the next day we arrived at the mouth of the

river, which is distant from Bussora ninety miles, and entered the Persian Gulf.

This gulf is an arm of the Sea of Oman, which is itself a branch of the Indian Ocean. The course of the Persian Gulf is N. W. and S. E. It is nearly 500 miles in length, and in some places 150 in breadth, but at the entrance is only thirty-six wide. The distance from Bussora to Bombay is computed at 1500 miles.

On the 20th we were opposite the island of Kharek. This island is about nine miles long, and three miles broad. The Dutch formerly got possession of it, and built thereon a strong fort; but it was taken from them by the Arab Shaikh of Bundarick.

On the 21st we passed Abu Sheher, one of the most celebrated ports of Persia. It

soon after fell calm, and we remained for several days in its vicinity. I very much regretted that the wind had not ceased sooner, that I might have had an opportunity of going on shore, and of seeing one of the Persian cities.

On the 25th we passed the island of Abu Shayib, said to be 150 miles long; and on the evening of the same day we anchored at the island of Kies, to take in a supply of fresh water.

The 27th brought us opposite the Isle of Hormuz (Ormus), which is only six miles long, and three in breadth.

On the 28th we passed Kisshimy, the largest island in the Persian Gulf, being sixty miles long, and twenty broad; and on the 30th we entered the Sea of Oman. At

the entrance to this sea, the shores of Persia and Arabia are both to be seen.

In the Persian Gulf are a number of uninhabited islands. One of these is called by the English the Tomb of Zoom, from a tradition that one of the Generals of Alexander the Great was buried there. Another is a barren rock, called Mamma Selma, round which there runs so strong an eddy, that if a ship comes within its vortex it is infallibly dashed to pieces.

One of the greatest curiosities found in this sea is a fish which the English call *Star-fish*. It is circular, and at night very luminous, resembling the full moon surrounded by rays. When touched, it is as soft as jelly, and appeared to me to be of a species between the vegetable and animal creation. If any part of it touches

the human body, it causes a blister, which often turns into a very troublesome sore. Frequently, during the voyage, I sat upon the deck at night, for several hours, to admire these extraordinary phænomena.

Soon after we entered the Sea of Oman, a contrary wind arose, which amounted nearly to a gale; but as it was not accompanied by rain, it did not much distress us.

It is worthy of remark, that, during the course of my travels, I sailed through the Indian, Southern, and Atlantic Oceans, and over the Mediterranean, Italian, Ionian (Grecian), Marmorean, Persian, and Oman Seas; in all of which I experienced storms, but, by the blessing of God, did not sustain any injury.

On the 5th of Suffer we passed by Mus-

cat, but not sufficiently near to see the land; and the following day we again entered the Indian Sea, which completed the circle of my navigation; as the Bay of Bengal, whence I set out, is considered a part of this ocean. At this place we had a view of the Eastern promontory of Arabia, which is called Rasalgat, and is 120 miles distant from Muscat.

On the 10th of the month Suffer, corresponding with the 3d of June, at one hour after sun-rise, we cast anchor in the harbour of Bombay, being within four days of a year from the time of my leaving London.

In justice to the captain of the grab, I must say, that, notwithstanding the vessel was very small, we had every comfort on board, and that I passed my time very pleasantly.

Soon after the ship had anchored, I went on shore, and proceeded immediately to the Government House, having had the honour of being well known to Mr. Duncan in Bengal. As it was so early an hour, the Governor was not risen; but his servants were extremely attentive, shewed me into a room, and asked if I wished for a hookah, or any other refreshment.

At eight o'clock I was informed that the Governor was dressed, and waited breakfast for me. I immediately paid my respects to his Excellency, and was received in the most gracious and friendly manner. He congratulated me on my safe return to India, and requested I would favour him with my company during the time I resided at Bombay. As his own house was full of guests, he directed his steward to go and hire one for me in the neighbourhood; and

before breakfast was finished, I was informed the house was ready for my reception: he then ordered his servants to supply me with every thing I wanted; and concluded with saying, he should expect to see me every day at breakfast and dinner, when I was not otherwise engaged. The contrast between this reception, and that I had experienced at Bussora, was so great, that my feelings quite overcame me.

During the course of the day, my friend, Abd al Lutief Khan, (whom may God preserve!) having heard of my arrival, called on me, and insisted upon my immediately accompanying him to his house, a little way in the country. As my chief object in coming to Bombay was to visit this illustrious friend, I could not refuse him, but was afraid of giving offence to the Governor. I however again waited on his Excellency, and

explained to him my situation; when he most graciously said, "By all means, go "and enjoy the society of your friends; but "whenever business or pleasure calls you "into town, come and occupy your house, "and eat with me." I returned his Excellency many thanks for his kindness, and accompanied my friend; but, as I had many engagements in the town, and some business to transact, I found the Governor's house of great service. From Mr. Lechmere, Member of Council, and Colonel Gordon, Commander of the troops, and many others of the Bombay gentlemen, I also experienced much attention and kindness.

The Island of Bombay is situated between the eighteenth and nineteenth degrees of northern latitude, and is remarkable for the purity of its air, and the excellence of its water. Its neighbourhood pro-

duces all the fruits and grains of the other parts of India; but there are some groves of mango-trees on the island which bear fruit of a very superior quality.

The city in which all the English reside is situated within the fort, the houses of which are three or four stories high, and built of brick and mortar, with painted doors and windows; but they have all sloped roofs, covered with tiles, in the European fashion; and there is not a house in the town to be compared with the worst of those at Chouringhy (part of Calcutta). The inhabitants are chiefly English, Parsees, Indian Portuguese, and Hindoos.

The Parsees are descended from the ancient Guebres, or worshippers of fire. About eleven hundred years ago, many of them fled from Persia, on account of the

excessive zeal and oppressions of the Mussulmans, and settled at Surat, Bombay, and other places on this coast. They are now so much increased in numbers, that most of the artificers and servants at Bombay are of that sect. Several of these are respectable merchants; and a few are possessed of very great wealth. They all understand, besides their own language, English and Hindoostany; but few of them can converse in the Persian of the present day.

As they never intermarry or cohabit with any other tribe or people, they are all very similar in features and colour, and are supposed not to have altered, in the smallest degree, since their ancestors first emigrated.

Many of the English philosophers contend, that distance from, or proximity to the sun, does not at all affect the human

colour; and quote, in support of this argument, the two instances, of the Parsees at Bombay, and the Armenians at Julfa (suburbs of Ispahan), who, in the course of many centuries, have not in any degree changed their colour: but if this axiom is true, I cannot comprehend why Europeans should be fair, Ethiopians black, and Indians of swarthy complexions.

The Parsees affirm, that they possess altars, and some of their sacred fire, both of which were brought from Persia eight hundred years ago. They worship two Deities; one, the principle of all good, whom they call *Yezdan;* the other, the principle of evil, named *Aherman:* but as the human mind is always governed more by fear than by gratitude, the Parsees are much more assiduous in their devotions to the latter, than to the former Deity.

They are exceedingly jealous of the reputation of their women; and if they even suspect a female of impropriety, they secretly make away with her. They are not however possessed of a spark of liberality or gentility: none of them ever came to visit me during my residence at Bombay, much less to invite me to their houses. This possibly may have proceeded from an idea, that my rank was so superior to theirs, I would have refused their invitations.

The only Parsee I was ever acquainted with who possessed a liberal education, was Moola Firoz, whom I met at the house of a friend. He was a sensible and well-informed man, who had travelled into Persia, and had there studied mathematics, astronomy, and the sciences of Zoroaster. He spoke Persian very fluently; but I did not think much of his poetry in that language.

Two miles to the north of the fort there is another town, entirely inhabited by the natives of India, in which is an excellent bazar, from which the market of the fort is supplied. In the vicinity are a number of gardens and orchards, belonging to various persons of opulence in the island; also several groves of cocoa-trees, which are planted so very thick, that there is scarcely any circulation of air between them.

ذکر بر شکل بومیان بمبئی

The lower classes of people at Bombay are the worst-looking of any I have seen in India: they are of a small stature, very black, and nothing but skin and bone. Some of the Parsee women are, indeed, large, fat, and fair; but they have very coarse features, and bold disgusting manners. I had often heard that the inhabitants of Surat, which is only a few days' journey north of Bombay, were remarkably

handsome, but I cannot believe it: the idea has, I suppose, originated from the fair complexions of the Parsees; but, in my opinion, the women of Bengal have much more life and vivacity about them, and are in every respect preferable.

Between the town and the fort there is an extensive plain, which is always covered with a fine verdure, and is kept for exercising the troops, and for the inhabitants to enjoy the fresh air. From the western side of this plain is an extensive prospect of the sea; and on the eastern side there is a very delightful view of the woods and mountains of the Concan.

The fort of Bombay is stronger and larger than that of Calcutta: it is defended on one side by the sea, and encompassed on the three others by a deep and wide ditch, which

is filled from the sea. The ramparts and bastions are all constructed like those of Calcutta; but all round the interior of the rampart there is a brick wall, to prevent the earth from being washed away by the rains. There are several gates, the entrances to which are defended by draw-bridges and portcullisses. This fort was originally constructed by the European Portuguese, when they possessed very extensive power in India; and was given to one of the Kings of England, as the marriage portion of a Princess of Portugal: since that period it has been in the possession of the English, who have much strengthened and improved it.

The most respectable and worthy of the Mohammedans who resided at Bombay during my visit to that place, were, first, Abd al Lutief Khan, a gentleman descended from a very ancient Persian family, and distin-

guished, amongst the learned, as the author of the *Tohfit al Aalum* (The Rarity of the World). From him I received the most solid proofs of friendship and kindness, and was his guest during a great part of the time.

Secondly, Aga Hussein, the nephew of Hajy Kheleel, the unfortunate Persian Ambassador, who was killed (on the 20th of July 1802) during the affray between the Persians of his suite, and the Sepoys of his guard of honour. He was a sensible and genteel young man, and had not quite recovered from the effects of five or six wounds which he received in the contest; but was waiting at Bombay, in expectation of being appointed Ambassador, in the room of his deceased uncle, and, in consequence, received a liberal pecuniary allowance from the Company. He lived in a handsome style,

and frequently invited me to his parties. He asked me a number of questions respecting Europe, and was particularly anxious to learn the history of the Freemasons. A short time before I quitted Bombay, he received intelligence, that Aga Abd al Nubby, the Bussora merchant, was appointed to fill the station of his uncle; which very much mortified him, and he was obliged to return to Persia.

Thirdly, Mirza Mehdy Khan: he was by birth a Persian, and came to seek his fortune in India. He first visited the Court of the Nizam, at Hyderabad: he then came to Lucknow, where, by the interest of Mr. R. Johnson, he obtained an appointment; but being of an expensive turn of mind, he got into difficulties, out of some of which I extricated him. He afterwards went to Benaras, where he was noticed by Mr.

Duncan; and when that gentleman was appointed Governor of Bombay, he followed him to that place. As Mr. Duncan had a very high opinion of his abilities, he sent him, as the East-India Company's Agent, to Abu Sheher in Persia. But this appointment not meeting with the concurrence of the Governor-General, he was recalled, and rewarded with a pension of eight hundred rupees per month. He was, however, very much dissatisfied; and so far from evincing any gratitude or friendship for me, he was envious of the civilities I received from the Governor. There were, besides these, several respectable and opulent Mohammedan merchants, but none of them persons of consequence.

During the forty-five days I remained at Bombay, I dined once or twice each week with Mr. Duncan, and every Monday even-

ing attended his balls at the Government House, where I had an opportunity of seeing all the ladies and principal inhabitants of the settlement.

I frequently expressed to Mr. Duncan my wish to proceed to Bengal, and requested he would procure me a passage: but he would not agree to my leaving him so soon, and kindly said, he was convinced I was not sufficiently recovered from the fatigues of my journey, to commence another voyage; but that I might be assured he would procure me a passage in a good ship.

At length the Bombay frigate, a very fine vessel belonging to the Company, having been ordered round to Calcutta, he informed me, that if I was tired of Bombay, he would direct the Captain to take me on board, and to pay every attention to my accommoda-

tion and comfort. I replied, I could never tire of any place where his Excellency resided, but that I was very anxious to see my family, from whom I had been separated for several years: I would therefore embrace his kind offer. He immediately sent for Captain Hayes, the commander of the frigate, and, having introduced me to him, commended me to his care and protection. By this means I was conveyed to Calcutta free of expence; whereas, if I had taken my passage in a merchant ship, I should have been obliged to pay 2000 rupees (£.250). In short, the kindness of Mr. Duncan was such, that I am at a loss for words to express my obligations to him.

On the 26th of Rubby al Avul (16th of July) I embarked on board the Bombay frigate; and, as the wind was favourable, we were soon under weigh, and, after a very

quick passage of eleven days, arrived, without any particular occurrence, in Balasore Roads, at the mouth of the Ganges. During this voyage, Captain Hayes and his wife (who was on board) behaved to me with the greatest politeness and attention; and, as the ship was very roomy and in fine order, I had every comfort that is procurable at sea.

We were detained some days, waiting for a pilot: at length one came on board, and in two days carried the ship up the river to Fulta, where I got on board a small boat; and on the evening of the 15th Rubby Assany 1218, corresponding with the 4th of August 1803, after an absence of four years and six months, I landed safely in Calcutta, and returned thanks to God for my preservation and safe return to my native shores.

END OF THE TRAVELS.

APPENDIX
(A.)

ODE TO LONDON.

See Vol. I. p. 218.

Turned into Verse by a Young Gentleman.

No more in gardens, rivers, fields,
The wearied eye can find delight;
Henceforth each joy that London yields
Be ours—where Beauty charms the sight.

We thirst no more for golden fruits
That deck the trees of Paradise,
Content to rest from life's pursuits
Where these dark groves of cypress rise.

Let Mecca's Shaikh offended frown,
And curse us for apostate slaves;
Still may eternal blessings crown
These temples, while the bigot raves.

Fill up the goblet! welcome wine,
Which bids the convert ne'er return;
His faith he gladly will resign,
His breast with raptures high will burn.

What though life's prime and blooming spring
Confest an Indian Cupid's wiles,
Maturer years more blessings bring;
In British beauties, sweeter smiles.

Fair creatures, hail! with flowing tress
Of jet, of auburn, or of gold:
Ye sure were form'd my soul to bless·
I gaze—and die as I behold.

Your ruby lips might animate
The marble block, or torpid clay:
Could I reverse the laws of fate,
Yours should be each devoted day.

Oh TALEBA! these wounds, so deep,
Are not of chance the offspring weak;
Love bids thy heart th' impression keep,
As Nature tints the tulip's streak.

APPENDIX
(B.)

TRANSLATION
OF AN
ELEGY on TUFUZZUL HUSSEIN KHAN,[*]

Envoy from the NABOB of OUDE to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL of INDIA.

Written by MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN (2d May 1802) in the Persian Language, and presented by him to LADY ELFORD.

Turned into Blank Verse by the Rev. R. H.

O UNIVERSE! in primeval order
Still holds thy form compact, extinct the life
That seem'd the centre of thy orb, and pois'd
In balance intellectual thy laws.
Alas! no more shall the enraptur'd ear
Stay on that tongue, delighted; whose sweet sound
Of eloquent philosophy, sweeter
Than note of nightingale tho' sweet, would charm
Coy Nature to disclose her hidden reign,
As we together through the garden fair

* For a further account of *Tufuzzul Hussein Khan*, see Character, No. I. in the *Asiatic Annual Register* of 1803.

Of knowledge studious walk'd, in search of truth,
That amaranthine flower so rarely cull'd.
That sound so sweet, alas! no more is heard:
Through all the groves of science, silent now,
Devious I wander, and alone, nor cheer'd
With Nature's secret lore, celestial song.
Alas! he 's fled; who the heaven's expanse,
With truer ken than the Pelusian Sage
Survey'd; or than that other, Grecian born,
Tho' Egypt's boast. Unopen'd, unexplain'd,
Again obscure, the Almagestum* lies.
Alas! the zest of Learning's cup is gone;
Whose taste ne'er cloy'd, tho' deep the draughts;
Whose flavour yet upon the palate hangs
Nectareous, nor Reason's thirst assuag'd.
But yes!—rent is the garment of the morn;
And all dishevell'd floats the hair of night;
All bath'd in tears of dew the stars look down
With mournful eyes, in lamentation deep:
For he, their sage belov'd, is dead; who first
To Islam's followers explain'd their laws,
Their distances, their orbits, and their times,
As great Copernicus once half divin'd,
And greater Newton proved: but, useless now,
Their works we turn with idle hand, and scan
With vacant eye, our own first master gone.

Alas! that tongue, defence of Jaffier's faith,
Potent as the sword of God to cut short

* The title of the Arabic version of the works of Ptolemy.

All opposition vain, forsakes the world.
And thou, O earth! dost moisture still supply
To feed the lily's freshness; when that tongue,
Parch'd as the lips of thirsty traveller
When southern blasts low o'er the desert sweep,
Now stiff, no more shall eloquence distil.

But still some joy, CANOPUS † ! still is thine:
If fainter, yet it's joy: if set the sun,
Whose excellence through heaven shot far its beams;
Fitting thy pensive walk, at solemn hour,
Reflecting soft, fraternal light,
The morn shall guide thy melancholy way.

But ah! faded now is that lively face,
Where wisdom bloom'd superior, and outshone
All faces in intelligence divine,
Where friends congenial learned converse join'd;
As all flowers besides, the rose excels,
Tho' bright they spread their colours to the sun.
Ah! faded is the rose-bud's elegance,
Unrivall'd in its bloom: ah! clos'd the eye,
That aw'd presumption mute: but mild the ray
It shed on humble merit, as it watch'd
The fire of genius playing in its beam.
O heart! melancholy alone fills up
Thy dreary waste of life. Ah! throb no more.
Exulting at blithe pleasure's call, to thee
Jocund no more, since he, belov'd, for whom

† Brother of the deceased.

Thy warmest pulse was wont so oft to beat
In concord of sweet friendship, from thee torn,
Is fled,—and with him flies from thee all joy.
Behold that corse, how fall'n! that body, rob'd
But yesterday in silks of richest dye,
And furs the hunter's rarest prize, now wrapp'd
In coarse sepulchral weeds, all beauty gone,
In kindred dust deep cover'd, mouldering lies:
Prostrate the date tree now, whose stately crown,
At once the garden's glory, and defence
From high noon's sultry ray, low fallen, lies
Cumbering the ground.—In pensive mood,
At foot of cypress or of yew outstretch'd,
We weeping lie, and court funereal shade.

Tho' long the way, and arduous, old age
Forgot its stiffness; with new vigour brac'd,
Agile it moved its limbs, and urged their speed,
On anxious thoughts intent, to view his form,
And hear new wisdom falling from his tongue.
But now, how sad the change! our youth weigh'd down
With grief's oppressive load, or helpless sit,
Or feeble grown, as feeble worm that creeps,
Their limbs drag slowly on their care-worn frame.
Behold that head, for whose far-stretching thought
The universe appear'd too small a bound,
In close and narrow grave finds room enough!
If thou, O rose! when drooping Nature mourns,
Thoughtless, in pride of beauty laugh'st, pluck'd off
By some rude hand, thy blushing honours torn,

The sport of winds unheeded may they fly!
Ah! see'st thou not, that e'en the vaulted sphere,
Hard hearted as she is, unwont to melt
At other's woe, at this distressful hour,
In sign of grief, her deepest azure spreads?

O Taleb! learn from this a dear-bought truth;—
Nor dignity, nor form, nor talents rare,
Nor rarer knowledge, o'er the fated hour
Man's short abode on earth prolong, nor keep their
Frail possessor from the destin'd tomb.

APPENDIX

(C.)

See Vol. I. p. 239.

COLONEL SYMES returned to India in the year 1801, and early in the following year was again sent, by Marquis Wellesley, as Ambassador to the Court of Ava, between which and the British (Indian) Government a very serious misunderstanding had taken place: which circumstance, added to the intrigues of the French at that Court, rendered this negociation still more difficult than his former mission.

Such was the nature of this dispute, that his Birman Majesty was pleased to say, in public Court, that no other man but Colonel Michael Symes could have reconciled him to the English.

The abilities and zeal manifested on this occasion induced Marquis Wellesley, some time after the return of the Embassy from Ava, to appoint Colonel Symes to a very high and important situation at the Court of Dehly; but severe illness obliged him to relinquish these flattering prospects, and to embark, in the end of 1803, for Europe.

When the unfortunate expedition under Sir John Moore was planned, Colonel Symes, who was then one of the assistants in the Quarter-master General's department, and in a bad state of health, relinquished his situation to take the command of the 76th regiment. He soon after embarked for Spain, under the command of General Baird, by whom Colonel Symes was employed to inspect the state of the Spanish armies. His reports on this subject have appeared in the account of that expedition.

In the performance of this duty, Colonel Symes rode eighty miles post, over bad roads, in one day; which event, being followed by the harassing retreat to Corunna, so completely exhausted his constitution, that he died two days after the troops had re-embarked.

It was during the interval between Colonel Symes's return from Ava, and his being appointed to Dehly, that Mirza Abu Taleb arrived in Calcutta. The latter lost no time in visiting his friend, and was for several months a frequent guest at his table; where the Translator of this Work had often the pleasure of meeting him, and of hearing him relate a number of anecdotes respecting his travels.

When the Colonel was appointed to Dehly, Abu Taleb requested to accompany

him, and to be appointed his assistant: but this scheme having been frustrated by the Colonel's illness, he proceeded up the country, to his friend Mr. Augustus Brooke, at Benaras, through whose interest and recommendation he was appointed Aāmil of one of the districts of Bundlecund; and died in that situation, in the year 1806.

As he left but little property, the East-India Company have generously settled a pension upon his wife and family.

P. S. His son, Mirza Hussein Aly, is now employed in the College of Fort William; and, in the year 1812, edited the Printed Copy in the Persian language, of these Travels.

APPENDIX

(D.)

See Vol. II. p. 31.

THE following Tract, on the Liberties of the Asiatic Women, was written by Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, during his residence in England, and was translated by his friend and shipmate, Captain David Richardson, who, it is to be feared, has perished in one of the missing ships from India. It was published by the intelligent author and compiler, Mr. Dundas Campbell, in the Asiatic Annual Register of the year 1801.

VINDICATION *of the* LIBERTIES *of the* ASIATIC WOMEN.

By MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

ONE day, in a certain company, the conversation turned upon LIBERTY, in re-

spect of which the ENGLISH consider their own customs the most perfect in the world. An English lady, addressing herself to me, observed, that the women of Asia have no liberty at all, but live like slaves, without honour and authority, in the houses of their husbands; and she censured the men for their unkindness, and the women, also, for submitting to be so undervalued. However much I attempted, by various ways, to undeceive her, (and in truth, said I, the case is exactly the reverse, it is the European women who do not possess so much power,) yet it did not bring conviction to her mind. She however began to waver in her own opinion; and falling into doubt, requested of me to write something on the subject, the purport of which she might comprehend at one view, and be enabled to distinguish the truth from falsehood. Since the same wrong opinion is deeply rooted in

the minds of all other Europeans, and has been frequently before this held forth, I considered it necessary to write a few lines concerning the privileges of the female sex, as established, both by law and custom, in Asia and in Europe; omitting whatever was common to both, and noticing what is principally peculiar to each, in the manner of comparison, that the distinction may be the more easily made, and the real state of the case become evident to those capable of discernment.

It must be first laid down as a general maxim, that, in social order, respect to the rules of equity and politeness, and forbearance from injury, is a necessary condition; for, otherwise, the liberty of one would be destructive of the liberty of another: thus, if a person be at liberty to do with his own house what may endanger the safety of his neighbour's, this must be in direct oppo-

sition to the liberty of that neighbour; or if, in order to free himself from the inconveniences of the hot weather, he should visit his friends in his dressing-gown or night-shirt, although it would be ease and liberty to him, yet it would be sowing the seeds of ill-breeding: therefore the observance of these rules is essential.

Those things which make the liberty of the Asiatic women appear less than that of the Europeans, are, in my opinion, SIX.

The *first* is, " The little intercourse with men, and concealment from view," agreeably to law and their own habits: and this is the chief of these six; for it has been the cause of those false notions entertained by the European women, that the inclination of the Asiatic women leads them to walk out in the streets and market-places, but that their husbands keep them shut up, and set guards over the door. It may be here

observed, that the advantages of this *little intercourse*, which prevents all the evils arising from the admittance of strangers, and affords so much time for work and useful employments, are so very manifest, that they need not be enlarged upon; and besides, the practice in London, of keeping the doors of the houses shut, and the contemptible condition of the Dutch at the Cape, are sufficient proofs. Notwithstanding this, the custom of the intercourse of the sexes is allowed in England; and it is owing both to the force of virtue and good manners generally to be found in the English, and to the apprehension of other greater inconveniences, the chief of which are four, as here mentioned, and whose effects are not felt in Asia. *One of these* is, the high price of things, and the small number of servants and rooms; for were there a separate house and table and equi-

page for the wife, the expence would be too great to be borne; and therefore, of necessity, both husband and wife eat their food, with their guests, in one place, sleep together in the same chamber, and cannot avoid being always in each other's company; contrary to the custom in Asia, where, by reason of the cheapness of work, the women have separate apartments for themselves, and have not to make their time and convenience suit that of their husbands; and when their particular friends are with them, they do not desire their husband's company for several days, but send his victuals to him in the murdannah (or male apartments); and, in like manner, when the husband wishes to be undisturbed, he eats and sleeps in the murdannah.

A second cause is, " The coldness of this climate, which requires exercise and walking, and the husband to sleep in the

same bed with his wife: but concealment from view is incompatible with walking: and as for the second case, another cause is the want of room; for, otherwise, it is the natural disposition of mankind, when under distress and affliction of mind, to wish frequently for privacy and unrestraint, and sleep in a room alone."

A *third cause* is, "The people here being all of one kind;" for, in this kingdom, placed in a corner of the globe where there is no coming and going of foreigners, the intercourse of the sexes is not attended with the consequences of a corruption of manners, as in Asia, where people of various nations dwell in the same city; and to allow the women such a liberty there, where there is such danger of corruption, would be an encroachment upon the liberty of the men, which (as shewn in the beginning) is contrary to justice; and that a corruption of

manners must ensue, where various kinds of people mix together, is too evident to require demonstration. Before the Mussulmans entered Hindoostan, the women did not conceal themselves from view; and, even yet, in all the Hindoo villages it is not customary: and it is well known how inviolable the Hindoos preserve their own customs, and how obstinately they are attached to them; but now so rigidly do the women in the great towns observe this practice of concealment from view, that the bride does not even shew herself to her father-in-law, and the sister comes but seldom into the presence of her brother.

A *fourth cause* is, "The necessity which the European women have to acquire experience in the affairs of the world, and in learning various arts, on account of the duty that belongs to them to take part in their husband's business;" which experience could

not be obtained by keeping in concealment: whereas the duties of the Asiatic women consisting only in having the custody of the husband's property, and bringing up the children, they have no occasion for such experience, or for laying aside their own custom of concealment. What has been just said, was to shew that the Asiatic women have no necessity to expose their persons; but it must also be observed, that they have many reasons for preferring privacy. One is, the love of leisure, and repose from the fatigue of motion: a second is, the desire of preserving their honour, by not mixing with the vulgar, nor suffering the insults of the low and rude, who are always passing along the streets; a feeling in common with the wives of European noblemen, who, to preserve their dignity, are never seen walking in the streets; and also with ladies in private life,

who when walking out at night, and even in the day, are always attended by a male friend or servant to protect them. The notions which the European women have, that the women of Asia never see a man's face but their husband's, and are debarred from all amusement and society, proceed entirely from misinformation: They can keep company with their husband's and father's male relations, and with old neighbours and domestics; and at meals there are always many men and women of this description present; and they can go in their palankeens to the houses of their relations, and of ladies of their own rank, even although the husbands are unacquainted; and also to walk in gardens after strangers are excluded; and they can send for musicians, and dancers, to entertain them at their own houses; and they have many other modes of amusement besides these mentioned.

The *second* is, " The privilege of the husband, by law, to marry several wives." This, to the European women, seems a grievous oppression; and they hold those very cheap who submit to it. But, in truth, the cause of this law and custom is the nature of the female sex themselves, which separates them from the husband, the several last months of pregnancy, and time of suckling; and besides these, the Asiatic women have many other times for being separate from their husbands. This privilege not being allowed by the English law, is indeed a great hardship upon the English husbands: whereas the Asiatic law, permitting polygamy, does the husband justice, and wrongs not the wife; for the honour of the first and *equal* wife is not affected by it; those women who submit to marry with a married man not being admitted into the society of ladies, as they are never of high

or wealthy families, no man of honour ever allowing his daughter to make such a marriage. The mode in which these other wives live is this: they who are of a genteel extraction, have a separate house for themselves, like kept-mistresses in England; and they who are not, live in the house of the equal wife, like servants, and the husband at times conveys himself to them in a clandestine manner. Besides, these wives cannot invade any of the rights of the equal wife; for although they and their children are by law equally entitled to inheritance, yet, since the equal wife never marries without a very large dowry settled upon her, all that the husband leaves goes to the payment of this dowry, and nothing remains for his heirs. The opinion that the men of Asia have generally three or four wives, is very ill founded, for in common they have only one; out of a thousand, there will be fifty persons,

perhaps, who have from one to two, and ten out of these who have more than two. The fear of the bad consequences of polygamy makes men submit with patience to the times of separation from the equal wife, as much the better way; for, from what I know, it is easier to live with two tigresses than two wives.

The *third* is, "The power of divorce being in the hands of the husband." This is ordained by law, but not practised; for if a great offence be the motive to divorce a wife, and if it be proved against her, she receives punishment by the order of the magistrate, or from the husband, with the concurrence of all her relations; and if the offence be of a trivial nature, such as a difference of temper and unsociability, the husband punishes her by leaving the female apartments, and living in his own. But the reason for divorce being at the will of the

husband, lies in the very justice of the law, and the distinction of the male sex over the female, on account of the greater share they take in the management of the world; for all the laborious work falls to their lot, such as carrying heavy burthens, going to war, repulsing enemies, &c. and the women generally spend their lives in repose and quiet. Nevertheless, if the wife establishes a criminal offence against the husband, such as an unfair distribution of his time among his wives, or a diminution of the necessaries of life, she can obtain a divorce in spite of him.

The *fourth* is, " The little credit the law attaches to the evidence of women in Asia;" for, in a court of justice, every fact is proved by the testimony of two men; but if women be the witnesses, four are required. This does not arise from the superiority of the one over the other, but it is founded upon the

little experience and knowledge women possess, and the fickleness of their dispositions.

The *fifth* is, " The Asiatic women having to leave off going to balls and entertainments, and wearing showy dresses and ornaments, after their husband's death." This is owing to their great affection for their husband's memory, and their own modes and habits; for there is nothing to prevent a woman's doing otherwise, or marrying a second husband, but the dread of exposing herself to the ridicule and censure of women of her own rank.

The *sixth* is, " The Asiatic daughters not having the liberty of choosing their husbands." On this head nothing need be said; for in Europe this liberty is merely nominal, as, without the will of the father and mother, the daughter's choice is of no avail; and whatever choice they make for her, she must submit to; and in its effects,

it serves only to encourage running away (as the male and female slaves in India do), and to breed coldness and trouble amongst the members of a family. But granting that such a liberty does exist in England, the disgrace and misery it must always entail is very evident. The choice of a girl just come from the nursery, and desirous by nature to get a husband, in an affair on which the happiness of her whole life depends, can neither deserve that respect nor consideration which is due to the choice of her parents, who have profited by experience, and are not blinded by passion.

But what the Asiatic women have more than the European, both by law and custom, may be ranked under EIGHT heads.

First, " Their power over the property and children of the husband, by custom;" for the men of Asia consider the principal

objects of marriage, after the procreation of their species for the worship of God, two things,—the one to have their money and effects taken care of, and the other to have their children brought up; so that they themselves, being left entirely disengaged of these concerns, may turn their whole endeavours to the attainment of their various pursuits. The chief part, therefore, of whatever wealth they acquire, they give in charge to their wives; and thus the women have it in their power to annihilate in one day the products of a whole life. Although this seldom happens, yet it is often the case, where the husband having amassed a large fortune in youth and power, has delivered it in charge to his wife, and requires it back in his old age and necessity, she does not allow him more than sufficient for his daily support, and lays the rest up, in a place of security, for the sake of her children. And

so great is the power they possess, as to the disposal of their children, that frequently they are brought up without any education, or die in childhood; for the women, on account of their little sense, are never pleased to part with their children, by sending them to school, and to acquire experience by travelling; and when they fall sick, they give them improper medicines, by the advice of their own confidants, or, from their softness of heart, indulge them in whatever it is the nature of the sick to take a longing for, and thus they cause their death.

Second. " Their power, by custom, as to the marriage of their children, and choice of their religious faith;" for if the husband wishes to give one of them in marriage to a person the wife disapproves of, the match does not take place: but the other way, it generally does. All the children, both male and female, from being mostly in the com-

party of their mother, and looking upon her as their protector against their father, whom, on account of his wishing to have them educated, they consider their tormentor, follow the religious tenets of their mother, and remain perfect strangers to those of their father. It often happens, where the wife is a Shya, and the husband a Soony, the children, having been Shyas from their own natural disposition and the instructions of the mother, speak disrespectfully of the chiefs of the Soony sect in their father's presence; and he, who all his life never bore such language from any person, but was even ready to put the speaker of it to death, has no redress, but patiently submitting to hear it from them, as, on account of their want of understanding, they are excusable; and thus, by frequent repetition, his attachment to his faith is shaken, and, in the course of time, he either en-

tirely forsakes it, or remains but lukewarm in it.

Third. " Their authority over their servants;" for the servants of the male apartments, the keeping and changing of whom are in the hands of the husband, through fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure or complaints of the wife, when she finds a proper opportunity, by their committing some fault, which servants are continually doing, are more obedient to her than to their own master; and the servants of the zenana, whom the wife has the care of retaining or turning off, stand so much in awe of their mistress, that many of them pass their whole lives in the zenana, without ever once coming into the presence of the husband: some of them never perform any service for him at all; and others, who do, enter not into discourse with him: and the women are so obstinate in this respect, their

husbands never can turn off one of these servants, but his very complaint against them is a recommendation in their favour; and his recommendation has the effect of complaint, by subjecting them to their mistress's resentment. Contrary to this is the manner of the European ladies, who have not their own will with their children and servants, but live more like free and familiar guests in their husbands' houses: and the household establishment and equipage being in common to both, if any part, as the carriage for example, is previously employed by the one, the other has to wait till it is disengaged. Of this there is no doubt, that if a quarrel ensues between an English husband and wife, the wife has to leave the house, and seek her dinner either at her father's or a friend's: whereas in Asia, it is the husband that has to go out; for frequently the utensils of cookery are not kept in the male apartments.

Fourth. "The freedom, by custom, of the Asiatic women from assisting in the business of the husband, or service of his guests;" whereas this is generally the duty of European wives, whether their husbands be of a genteel business, such as jewellery, mercery, or perfumery, or the more servile ones. I have seen many rise from their dinner, to answer the demands of a purchaser: and although all these duties are not required of the ladies, yet some, especially the entertaining the guests, carving and helping the dishes at table, and making the tea and coffee, are generally performed by them. Now the Asiatic ladies have no such duties at all, but live in the manner before described.

Fifth. "The greater deference the Asiatic ladies find paid to their humours, and a prescriptive right of teasing their husbands by every pretext," which is considered as

constituting an essential quality of beauty; for if a wife does not put these in practice, but is submissive to her husband's will in every thing, her charms very soon lose their brilliancy in his eyes. Thus, when a wife goes to visit her father, she will not return to her husband, till he has come himself several times to fetch her, and been as often vexed by her breaking her promise: and every day when dinner is served, by pretending to be engaged at the time, she keeps her husband waiting, and does not come till the meat has grown cold; and in the same manner at bed-time;—for returning quickly from her father's house is considered as a sign of fondness for the husband, which, in their opinion, looks very ill; and coming soon to dinner they think betrays the disposition of a hungry beggar. In these, and such like, the husband has nothing for it but patience; nay, it ever

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